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SEVEN GENERATIONS:
A History of the Kanienkehaka

by David Blanchard

Kahnawake Survival School
Kahnawake
1980

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Preface

The Kahnawake Survival School was founded by the people of Kahnawake in early autumn, 1978. Initially the school was founded as an act of protest over "Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language". In fact it soon became much more than that.

The Kahnawake Survival School is committed to the principle of Mohawk education. The school is determined to provide the highest quality education available to the youth of Kahnawake.

In order to complete this mandate, the Combined School Committee founded the Kahnawake Survival School Center for Curriculum Development. This Center has set out to research, develop and produce a Mohawk content curriculum. *Seven Generations: A History of the Kanienkehaka* is the first text to be produced by the Center. Other titles will soon follow, including; various anthologies of Iroquoian literature, A History of the Iroquois Confederacy, and collections of medicine, traditional history, and Mohawk treaty documents.

It is the belief of the Combined School Committee of Kahnawake and the staff and students of the Kahnawake Survival School, that unless Mohawk people fast become familiar with the chronology of events that have shaped their past, the very survival of the Mohawk Nation is at stake.

It is furthermore our belief that these events, these facts, can be told while at the same time stressing equivalent skills and conceptual development as are contained in standard high school textbooks.

And finally, it is our belief that once these facts are known and are generally available to the people of the Mohawk Nation, history will indeed repeat itself, and the Mohawk Nation will re-emerge and once again take its place in the world community of nations as a model of peace, power and righteousness.

The Kahnawake Combined School Committee

Introduction

During the time that this text was being prepared and written, numerous crises came to afflict the people of the Mohawk Nation. The Survival School was itself founded amidst a political crisis. In the Spring of 1979, the community of Akwesasne erupted into violence as New York State Police invaded the home of a traditional spokesman and longhouse chief. In Kahnawake, the people tried to close the Rivermont Quarry. They were met with typical blind justice; the police were fired; injunctions were made out against the council, and the quarry remained open. By late summer, 1979, the situation in Akwesasne had developed to the point where traditional people were forced to establish a defensive perimeter at Raquette Point. Kahnawake was shocked in October to learn that one of its young men had been brutally murdered by a Quebec Provincial Policeman. The political stability of the Mohawk was further shaken as Quebec considered separation, and Canada entered into a period of constitutional debate. The past year saw yet another bridge blockade in Akwesasne, a futile attempt by the people of Akwesasne to impeach the tribal council, and an announcement by the Quebec Government of their intention to build yet another dam across Indian land. Data became available from Statistics Canada that there has been a 76% decline in the learning of the Mohawk language since 1959. Finally, Judge Jan Plumador passed a decision down from his bench stating that "the Mohawk Nation has ceased to exist".

Such a sequence of events in so short a time would have been enough to seriously undermine most people's morale. Yet the Mohawk, with their typical stamina and resilience, always come back fighting and ready for more. This instinct for survival, and ability to maintain dignity amidst all human suffering is perhaps the most typical characteristic of the Mohawk people. Theirs is a dignity that is mirrored in the struggles of our times and recorded throughout history. This fact alone provides the justification for this book's existence.

This is how I see this text; it is a chronicle of a people's struggle for survival; it is an epic of dignity, and a bold affirmation that the Mohawk Nation lives and is yet a power to be reckoned with. If this text does not make these three points loudly and clearly, then I have failed in what I set out to do.

This history will someday be re-written, hopefully by a Mohawk historian; perhaps by a graduate of the Kahnawake Survival School. When this happens, it will be a far better text. That version will contain all of the facts, and will be written with a sensitivity that can only be provided by a Mohawk person. I eagerly wait for that version to appear.

Seven Generations: A History of the Kanienkehaka does contain, when possible, the Mohawk point of view of history. The words and thoughts of many Mohawk teachers and traditional leaders have been recorded throughout history. I have included much of this information, in an attempt to provide that Mohawk point of view to the teacher. In a way, this book is their work too, and I have been their editor. I hope that I have done them justice.

Editing a text is an extremely important and often-times thankless task. Gary O'Brien has edited this text with a great deal of skill and patience. Without his sense of commitment and belief in the Curriculum Project at the Kahnawake Survival School, this text would not have been completed. In addition to editing the book, Gary managed the review process, incorporated suggestions and correction, gathered illustrations, and completed the basic graphic design of the text. Finally, Gary did the design and layout of the book, and pasted the printer's copy together.

While this text was being prepared, Elna White assumed most of my responsibilities in the Professional Development Office. Without her assistance we would not have been able to embark on this project.

The staff of the reading center read the first drafts and advised both Gary and myself as to how high a reading level the various chapters were written at . Nancy Eddis and Beverly Pyke both then showed us how the text could be re-written to make it more accessible to high school students.

The library staff of the Kahnawake Survival School provided bibliographic assistance to the project. The bibliography that accompanies this text's workbook was prepared by Pauline Housden, of the Survival School.

All of the members of the Combined School Committee helped to bring this project through to completion. In a way they are the heart and soul of the project. They made numerous suggestions about illustrations, content, and wording that were incorporated into the text.

The staff of the Survival School as well as the students helped with criticism and by providing reference material for the text. The 1979-80 grade eight students were also helpful as critics.

The theme drawings at the beginning of chapters were prepared by Conway Jocks. Conway also provided many of the maps and illustrative material in the body of the text.

In addition to Gary O'Brien, the Kahnawake Survival School Center for Curriculum Development includes Brian Arbuthnot, Coordinator, Esther Lazare, Assistant, and Lorna Stalk, typist. A special word of thanks and acknowledgement should be made to Lorna Stalk. She typed the drafts of this text working steadily for ten weeks, twenty five pages a day. How she managed to keep her sense of humor, and sanity, is beyond me.

As always, our printers, Church and Baines of Montreal, gave us quick, high quality service. I would particularly like to thank Mr. William Baines for his personal and professional attention.

Finally, a word should be said about the dedication of this book.

The Survival School is new, and like all new things, it gets quite a bit of criticism. Much of the criticism is accurate. There are many things that the school does not yet have. But what it lacks in material, the Kahnawake Survival School more than makes up for in spirit. The students and parents who support the school know the importance of learning, and appreciate the special quality and character of education at the Survival School. I think that it should be made very clear that these students are not deprived of anything. THEY CHOOSE TO GO WITHOUT CERTAIN CONVENIENCES IN ORDER TO RECEIVE A MOHAWK EDUCATION. This makes the founding students of the Kahnawake Survival School much more appreciative of the lessons they are taught. These young men and women are the Seventh Generation. They are the future, and they are preparing themselves to survive in the white man's world, but to do so as a Mohawk. This makes these people unique, in my way of thinking.

I dedicate this text to these students who have learned the value of sacrifice.

I dedicate this text to these students who have gone without certain luxuries, so that their children, and their children's children, for seven more generations in the future, will know what it means to be a Kanienkehaka.

I would particularly like to dedicate this text to some of my own students: Susie Katsisonhawita Deer, Kyle Karoniaktatie Beauvais, Chris Akwiranoron Beauvais, Charlie Kentiokwake Jacobs, Betty Ann Katsitsonhawi McComber, Hope Awahontonti Stacey, Gail Kaneratentha Taylor, Peter Oneratase Delormier, Keith Satehoronies Montour, George Aroiawaks White , John Teioroniate Horn , Morgan Kahentonni Phillips : They, their classmates and colleagues are the founders of the Kahnawake Survival School.

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Chapter 1
The Creation

The history of the Kanienkehaka, the Mohawk people, begins at the very dawn of time. It is to these origins, that one must go in order to understand the world view, or basic outlook on life that Iroquoian people have. It is world view, in addition to race, language and culture that makes Mohawk people different from their neighbors in North America and around the world.

What exactly is world view? This is a term that is used by historians to signify the basic outlook on the world that a group of people have. World view is a combination of the values, attitudes, hopes and aspirations of a people. When one wants to discover a world view, one usually begins by studying the creation stories of a people.

Much of history involves the conflicts between people, nations and races. One of the reasons for this conflict, and a major cause of warfare in the world, is that people often do not take time out to understand the world view of other cultures.

For example, when Europeans settled in the Americas they did not understand the world views of native peoples. For this reason there was conflict between Europeans and native people. This conflict continues to the present day. Similarly the United States and the Soviet Union have different world views. The people of the United States feel that the best way to run a nation is through a democratic society. The people of the Soviet Union feel that the best way to run a nation is through a communist state. Both nations feel strongly about these ideals and are ready to defend them. For this reason the United States and the Soviet Union have often been in conflict with each other.

History then, involves a conflict of world views. In order to understand the history of the Kanienkehaka, it is necessary to understand the unique world view of the Mohawk people. The beginning point is the creation story.

This chapter looks at:

1. The Creation Story Of The Kanienkehaka
2. Traditional Mohawk World View

1. The Creation Story Of The Kanienkehaka

The responsibility for educating the young people of the Mohawk Nation traditionally rested with the grand-

parents and the older aunts and uncles of a longhouse. Children were told the legends and creation stories of their ancestors, and in this way they learned all the lessons of what it meant to be a Kanienkehaka of the Six Nations Confederacy. These lessons were given all year round, but mostly in the winter months when the people were brought in close around the warmth of the mid-winter fires.

In every society there are some people who are expert at storytelling. This is true today in Mohawk territory and around the world. These story-tellers are teachers. They know just when the right time for a lesson is. Traditionally, once a storyteller began a lesson the lodges of the Kanienkehaka quieted, the only sounds remaining being the crackling of the fires and the clear voice of the speaker.

The children huddled close to their parents or uncles and aunts, snug in their soft leather clothes and warmed by the thick fur of a bear skin blanket. They listened with wide open eyes, as the wisdom of the ancestors fell from the lips of the old people:

> Now, he who was my grandfather used to relate, that truthfully it was told by five generations of his grandsires, that this is the manner in which the earth came about; this is how we all had our beginning, and this is what he himself was in the habit of telling.

With these words of introduction, the storyteller would begin his tale of the world's origins.

In the beginning, Onkweshona, or man-like beings lived in the regions above. They knew not what it was to weep or to cry, sorrow and death were thus unknown to them. And the lodges of the man beings were long, each one belonging to a large family of one clan. In one of these lodges there was a woman who had been born with strong power. People such as this were called down-fended, because they slept on beds of soft down. They were always kept separated from the other people of the lodge, and were cared for in their childhood by an older aunt or uncle.

One day, when the people were out from the lodge, a young man entered and went up to this down-fended woman. She reached out and touched the man, and he died. The woman later

became pregnant. She gave birth to a daughter called Aientsik meaning Fertile Earth. Aientsik was a beautiful girl. She grew up in the lodge of her mother, and became a healthy young woman. One day, however, she became ill. Sickness was not known to the man beings, and they did not know what to do.

Aientsik went out one night, and sought the spirit of her father, who told her to do the following: "You must travel, my daughter, to the village of Tharonhiawakon, or, He Who Holds Up The Sky. In his village that is lit by the Tree of the Standing Light, you will become his bride. On your way to the village of the Tree of the Standing Light, you must be careful not to touch any man or animal that comes along. When you come to the stream between our village and that of Tharonhiawakon, you will find a maple log. Cross the stream on this log, and accept help from none."

Aientsik left the village of her people and traveled to the east. When she arrived at the stream she found the log, but before she could push the log out into the water, Kahahserine appeared. Kahahserine is the White Dragon of the Fire Body; he sometimes appears in the sky as a falling star or meteor. Kahahserine asked Aientsik if she would like some help. She became frightened and ran back to the village of her people. Just as she left the stream, however, Kahahserine reached out and barely touched her on the shoulder.

When Aientskik arrived back in her village she sought the spirit of her father. He asked if Kahahserine had touched her, and she replied no. He then advised his daughter to return to the stream and to make way for the village of the Tree of the Standing Light. Aientsik arrived at the stream's shoreline again, and finding the maple log where she had left it, crossed over to the other side.

When Aientsik arrived at the village of the Tree of Standing Light, she sought out Tharonhiawakon, the chief of the upper world.

She said, "I have come to be your bride."

He said, "Good, make me some supper."

When night time came, Aientsik slept on one side of the lodge,

and her new husband slept on the other. They did not really know each other that well, and they did not think that it was such a good idea to start having children right away. Even so, Aientsik became pregnant.

This disturbed the mind of Tharonhiawakon and he had a dream. Tharonhiawakon brought the people of his village together to try to guess the meaning of his dream. None of the people could correctly guess the dream of the Sky Holder.

Finally the White Dragon of the Fire Body stepped forward and said, "Tharonhiawakon, surely your dream means this, that your new wife is pregnant, and you are upset. Therefore, you will take the Tree of the Standing Light by the trunk, you will uproot this tree and place your wife by the abyss. Once done, you will push her through the hole, and cause her to leave the upper world forever."

When Kahahserine had finished speaking, the chief of the upper world said, "Yes, what you have said is true, and by correctly guessing the meaning of my dream, it is as if you have made it come true."

Tharonhiawakon then uplifted the Tree of the Standing Light, he placed his pregnant wife at the edge of the hole, and he pushed her through into the space below.

Aientsik fell. Below her, all of the universe was water. The animals of the water saw her falling, but because the sky was blue, as well as the water, they did not know if she was falling from the sky, or coming up from the bottom of the lake. All of the water animals had an argument about this. The otter said that she was coming up from the bottom of the lake. The beaver agreed, as did the muskrat. The geese and the ducks, however, said that she was falling from the sky. They flew up, and breaking the fall of Aientsik, let her rest upon their backs, and brought her gently down to the surface of the water.

In the meanwhile, a great turtle came up out of the water and volunteered to be a resting place for Aientsik, or Fertile Earth. The beaver, otter and muskrat each dove to the bottom of the

lake to try to bring up a mouthful of earth to place on the back of the turtle. The beaver failed and died. The otter failed and also died. But the muskrat was successful. He placed the mud on the back of the turtle and Aientsik was laid down to rest.

When she woke, there was a fire next to her and a pot of corn soup. The back of the turtle had grown in size and it was visibly continuing to grow with every passing minute. Aientsik stood up on the earth, and walked about it, helping in the process of its creation. Every day when she returned to her resting place, there was a fire and a supply of corn, or some beans or squash for her to eat. Corn, beans and squash have been known ever since as the three sister-providers of the Mohawk people.

Aientsik was pregnant and she soon gave birth to a daughter, Tekawerahkhwa, or Gusts of Wind. This daughter grew to maturity, and she soon was a beautiful young woman. One day when Tekawerahkhwa was sleeping in the forest, a man being came up to her and passed two arrows over her stomach. One arrow was tipped with flint, the other was a maple shaft. Tekawerahkhwa became pregnant with twins.

After about nine months, these twins inside the womb of Tekawerahkhwa had an argument. One of the twins, called Thawiskaron, or Flint, said that the best way to leave their mother was by way of the armpit. The other twin, called Okwiraseh, or Young Tree, said that the best way to leave was by between the legs. Before the argument was over, Thawiskaron pierced through his mother's armpit and killed her. Okwiraseh followed, but was blamed for killing his mother by Thawiskaron and his grandmother, Aientsik.

Aientsik asked, "Who is it that killed my daughter?"

Thawiskaron replied, "It was Okwiraseh, my brother."

Okwiraseh was then thrown into the forest by his grandmother and left to die. This was not to be his fate, however. Tharonhiawakon came down from the upper world and taught his grandson how to live in the forest. He taught him how to hunt and to make foods from the things that grew about the earth. He taught him to make the lodges of the Onkweshona and the method of preparing

the bark.

Finally, Tharonhiawakon told Okwiraseh to prepare the earth for the coming of man. He told him to make the earth beautiful and to provide growing space for the three sister-providers, corn, beans and squash. Okwiraseh made the Indian corn to grow tall and strong. His brother Thawiskaron took the corn, however, and threw it into the fire, burning the ends and ruining that part of the ear. Okwiraseh rushed to take the corn out from the fire, however and saved the rest of the ear. Notice today how the end of the corn cob cannot be eaten. Okwiraseh made all of the rivers to run in two directions. This way, men would be able to travel in any direction without having to paddle against the current. Thawiskaron changed the course of the rivers and made them all go just one way. He then threw large boulders in the river in order to prevent river travel. Fortunately, Okwiraseh caught Thawiskaron in time and stopped him, but many of the rivers were made difficult to travel on.

Okwiraseh asked the various animals how they would avoid man in the hunt. When the animals responded, Okwiraseh changed that part of the animal that was going to have a special advantage over man. One day, as Okwiraseh was going about the earth, he noticed that there were no animals about. The animals had all been captured by Thawiskaron and locked into a cave. The season began to grow cold and there was no game. Okwiraseh located the cave where the animals had been confined and he moved back the rock holding them in and freed them.

After this last confrontation with his brother Thawiskaron, Okwiraseh decided to challenge his brother to one last contest of strength. He asked his brother to meet him on top of a mountain deep within the Adirondacks and play a game of dice. The winner was to rule the day, the loser the night.

When Thawiskaron showed up for this contest he brought his own dice. Okwiraseh agreed to use the bowl of Thawiskaron, but not his dice. He called to the sparrows and asked them to give their small heads for dice. The sparrows agreed.

Okwiraseh then called out to all of creation and said, " All you

things that are alive, send me your power now so that I may be victorious, and so that all of you may live!"

The animals and the plants, the very earth itself sent power to Okwiraseh and he proved victorious over his brother.

Thawiskaron was banished to the lower world, below the turtle and the earth, only to come out at night when it is dark and cold. Okwiraseh assumed preeminence on the earth during the day, and continued to carry out his grandfather's command to continue the work of making the earth a better place for the coming of man.

One day while traveling about the earth, reviewing all of his work, Okwiraseh came across a man being, Hatowi, blocking the path through the forest.

Hatowi said, "What are you doing here, walking about my creation, as if you had made it?"

Okwiraseh responded that he, Okwiraseh, had done all of this work of creation, and not Hatowi. The two men agreed to a contest of strength. Whoever could make the mountains to move was the agreed upon maker of the earth, and the loser was to serve the winner for all the rest of time. Hatowi went first. He commanded the mountain to move, but of course the mountain stayed in its place.

Then Okwiraseh said, "See, you are not the maker of the earth and all here present that it contains."

Hatowi said, "But you too must try to make the mountain to move."

Okwiraseh replied, "Yes, but first you must turn around and close your eyes."

Then Okwiraseh ordered the mountain to move right up behind Hatowi. The mountain moved, and when Hatowi turned around, he slammed his face right into the side of the mountain. This twisted his face and bent his nose all out of shape.

Hatowi was so surprised that he asked Okwiraseh not to hurt him. Hatowi promised to help mankind for all times. Hatowi said that if men would address him as Grandfather, burn tobacco to him and carve his image in the trunk of a living tree, he would cure

W.

men of their sicknesses. Okwiraseh agreed to this and the great curing ceremony of the False Face was born, dedicated to Hatowi, the Great Twisted Face.

Now the earth was ready for the habitation of man. Okwiraseh went to the shore of a great lake and he scooped up a handful of deep red earth.

He said, "Now I make what shall be called Onkwehonwe, or human beings. They will dwell here on this floating island."

So as soon as he had stopped talking he began to make them, and he made the body of the human being. He took up the earth and he said, "This earth that I take up is really alive. It is alive, just as the earth is alive. So too, the body of the human being that I make shall also be alive."

Then at that time he made the flesh of the human being.

As soon as he had completed it he thought for awhile then he said, "This will result in a good thing that I have done, and these human beings will continue to have life, just as I myself am alive."

Now at this time he took a portion of his own life and he gave it to the human being; so also he took a portion of his own mind and he enclosed it in the head of the human being; so also he took a portion of his own blood and enclosed it in his flesh; so also did he take a portion of his power to see and enclosed it in the eyes of the human being. Now at the time too, he placed his breath in the body of the human being and man rose and stood on the earth.

Then Okwiraseh said, "Truthfully I have made your body and you now walk on the earth. Look now and see what the earth contains."

At this time, as if by magic, Okwiraseh showed all of the earth to man. He showed him the valleys nestled in between tall gracious mountains. He showed man the clear waters of Iroquoia and the waterways of all the various territories. Okwiraseh showed man the beauty and wealth of the forest, the numerous medicines and foods. Fields of the three sisters growing to maturity were pointed out to man. Large trees bearing nuts and fruits, bushes of berries and the large bounty of game were shown to man. Likewise, the spots where flint could be found,

calimite for making pipes and bowls, deposits of clay and sand for pottery, and smooth pebbles for beadwork. All of these things were shown to the first man and he was made very glad.

Then Okwiraseh said, "I have given you all of this that the earth contains. It will continue to give comfort to your mind. I have planted human beings on the earth for the purpose that they shall continue my work of creation by beautifying the earth, cultivating it and making it more pleasing for the habitation of man."

Now then man saw his elder brother the Sun come up and cause the daylight on the earth to be warm. And man saw that the earth was beautiful, that the sky was beautiful and he was glad.

Okwiraseh told man that all of this was for man, and all that man had to do was to feel good and to be thankful for all of the gifts of creation. Man must never take the good things of the earth for granted, he was told, or else they would be taken away. Man must always be thankful.

But men forgot these words of the Creator, and they lost respect for the earth and for each other. Because of this the Creator returned to earth, and instituted the four ceremonies of thanksgiving. These four thanksgiving ceremonies would bring the people together at harvests, mid-winter, when the maple runs from the trees, and at the time of green corn. Human beings were told that they had forgotten to be thankful, and so they were ruining the earth. These four ceremonies helped them to remember.

Even with the four ceremonies, however, there was fighting amongst the people. And so the Creator returned to earth again, this time to inspire the formation of the Great Law of Peace and the founding of the Five Nations Confederacy.

It is a hard thing to tell where the creation story of the Kanienkehaka ends. This is because it does not really end in any one place, but continues on, even to this day. Many Mohawk people believe that they continue to

receive help and guidance from the Creator, and with this help they recreate the world, trying to make it more beautiful and better for the habitation of man.

2. Traditional Mohawk World View

There are many impossible and fantastic things that occur in the Mohawk creation story. For this reason, these stories are called myths. The creation story of the Mohawk people is a myth, as is the one in the Bible of Christianity, and the one in the Bhagavadgita of India. By calling the creation story a myth, does not mean that what is in the story is not true. It simply means that what is reported on has many incredible parts to it, that do not ordinarily happen. These stories were not created to give the details of creation, but to tell the people what their values were, and to do this in an entertaining and interesting way.

It would be helpful to look at a couple of things told in the creation story, and analyze them in terms of unique things that the Kanienkehaka believed about the world.

The Kanienkehaka Regarded The Earth As Feminine. First of all, the Kanienkehaka regarded the earth as being feminine. They referred to mother earth, and the first woman of the creation account is called Fertile Earth. She later becomes the mother of all living forces upon the earth. This becomes very important later on because in Mohawk society the land was always regarded the property of the women, and not the men as in European society. Also, because the Kanienkehaka believed that the earth was alive, they did not believe in cutting up the earth into small lots and selling her. This too was because they loved the earth, as they would a mother. Do any of these feelings about the land still exist?

The Kanienkehaka Thought That Human Beings Should Work With Nature. A major difference between Mohawk world view and Euro-American world view can be seen in the section of the creation story after man has been made by the Creator.

The Creator said:

> I have placed human beings on the earth for the purpose that they shall beautify it, cultivating it and making it more pleasing for the habitation of man

Native people generally felt this way about the land. They felt that they should work with nature, not against it. They believed traditionally that the earth would provide a good life for man, it was not necessary to do what Europeans did, dominate the earth, master it and use all of it to make a lot of money.

The Different World Views Towards Land By Native People And Europeans Created Misunderstandings. This attitude towards land and its use created a good deal of difficulty between European people in North America and native people.

The attitude of early European colonists towards native people is summarized by the following thoughts:

> Although the Lord has given the earth to the children of men, the greater part of it is possessed and wrongfully usurped by wild beasts and ignorant savages, who by reason of their godless ignorance and blasphemous idolatries are no better than the beasts. Indians are animals. Animals do not own land. Therefore we, God's chosen people, must conquer the earth and subdue it, as the Bible directs, even if that particular piece of land happens to be inhabited by animals in human form (Indians). [1]

These were strong words based on an ignorance of native world view. Native people were not godless. They simply believed that the Creator wanted them to keep the earth, his gift to man, beautiful and free of the factories and pollution, congested cities and waste that have characterized European society for centuries.

The Kanienkehaka Believed That Creation Was A Continuous Process. Another important feature of the Mohawk world view is the attitude that creation is an ongoing process; that it did not begin one special day and end at a certain time. The Kanienkehaka believed that they shared the breath of the Creator, and with his power to create and recreate, the good work of creation could always continue.

Mohawk people are different from European people in this respect. Whether a Kanienkehaka be a Catholic, Protestant or a traditionalist, all Mohawk people feel that they are Onkwehonwe or "original people". This means that they are the original inhabitants of North America, and because of their aboriginal occupation of this hemisphere, have a special status above all of the European, Asian and African immigrants to North America.

Because this is their land, Mohawk people often feel more strongly than recent immigrants when the land is scarred or made waste by such things as oil spills, strip mining, factory pollution and contaminated waterways. Mohawk people are much like other native people in this regard. The Cheyenne called themselves Lakota which means "the original people". The Pawnee called themselves "true men", or "first men". Likewise, the Hopi, Navajo, Algonquin and many other nations regarded themselves as having special responsibility for the earth and the things of the earth. In this way, they are very different from European people.

When a student who is interested in the study of world view really gets serious about it, he will find that many people around the world actually had beliefs that were very similar. The creation story of the Kanienkehaka is like the creation story in the Bible in many ways. Some people say that this is because the Bible influenced the Mohawk people. This is not necessarily the case. It just so happens that the Creator inspired all people around the world equally in giving messages to them about how they should behave and relate to the world.

Why Did Native People Have So Much Difficulty Dealing With Europeans? Why then have native people had so much difficulty in dealing with the European? A possible answer to this question can be found in the journal of Col. James Smith, a man who was captured and adopted by the Kahnawake Kanienkehaka and came to know something about Mohawk people.

The passage below was written by Smith on a night when he thought that he may starve to death. He was with a chief Tecaughretanego, and Tecaughretanego's young son Nunengo. They had run out of food, and they had not been able to locate any game. Smith was becoming worried and the Mohawk chief noticed and spoke these words:

> I will now communicate to you the thoughts of my heart, and those things that I know to be true.
>
> Brother,
>
> As you have lived with the white people,

you have not had the same advantage of knowing that the great being above feeds his people, and gives them their meat in due season, as we Indians have, who are frequently out of provisions, and yet are wonderfully supplied, and that so frequently that it is evidently the hand of the great Owaneeyo that doth this: whereas the white people have commonly large stocks of tame cattle, that they kill when they please, and also their barns and cribs filled with grain, and therefore have not the same opportunity of seeing and knowing that they are supported by the ruler of Heaven and Earth.

Brother,

I know that you are now afraid that we will all perish with hunger, but you have no just reason to fear this.

Brother,

I have been young, but am now old. I have been frequently under the like circumstances that we now are, and that some time or other in almost every year of my life; yet, I have hitherto been supported, and my wants supplied in time of need.

Brother,

Owaneeyo sometimes suffers us to be in want, in order to teach us our dependence upon him, and to let us know that we are to love and serve him: and likewise to know the worth of the favors that we receive, and to make us more thankful.

Brother,

Be assured that you will be supplied with food, and that just in the right time; but you must continue diligent in the use of means – go to sleep, and rise early in the morning and go hunting – be strong and exert yourself like a man, and the great spirit will direct your way. [2]

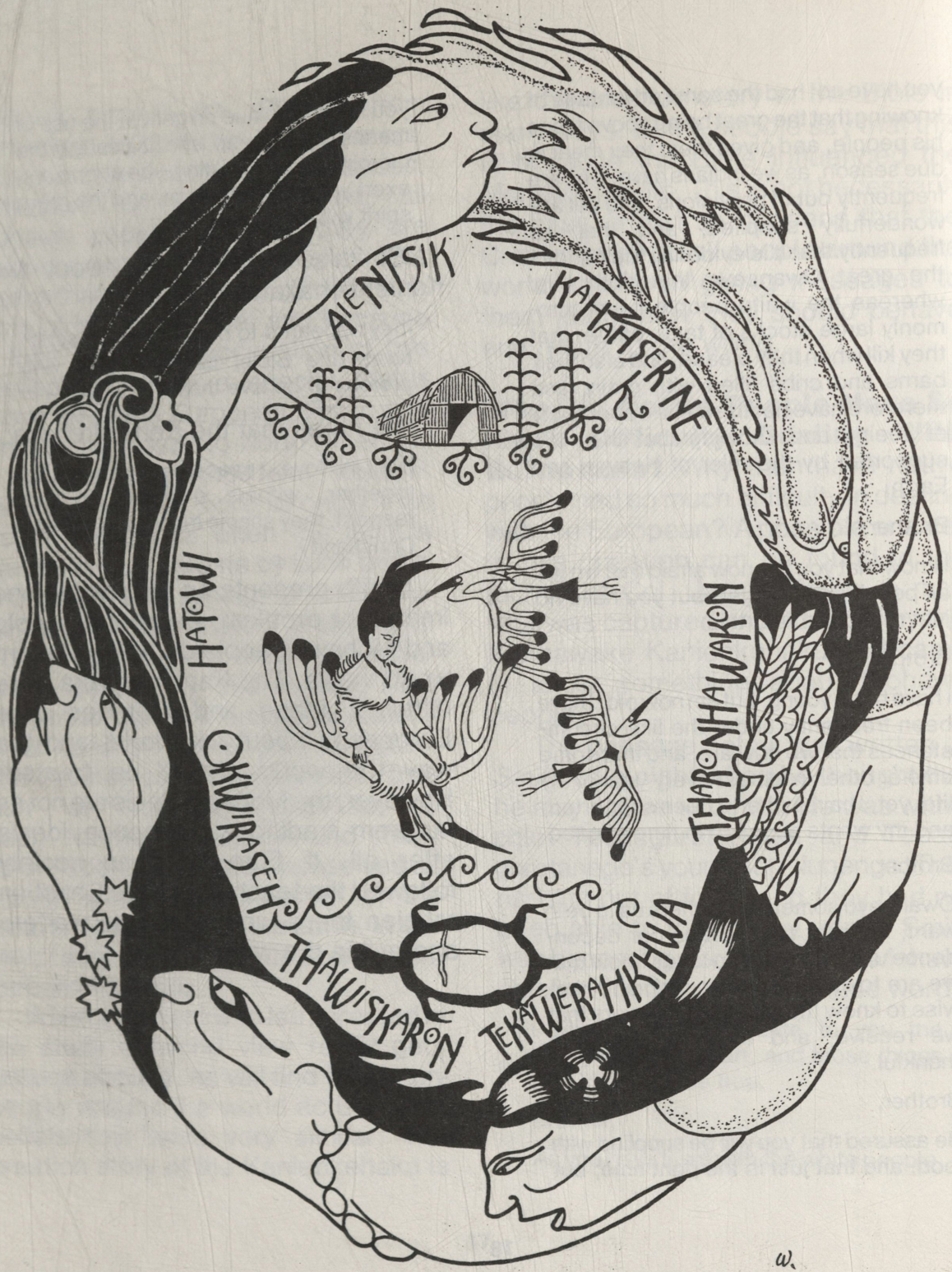
Smith's observations about the Kanienkehaka were that:

> they appeared to be fulfilling the scriptures (the Bible) beyond those who profess to believe them. [3]

He notes that the Kanienkehaka:

> live in love, peace and friendship together, without disputes. In this respect, they shame those who profess Christianity. [4]

Smith presents an interesting and important problem. European people and Mohawk people do have different world views. The Kanienkehaka have different ideas and attitudes than Europeans about the world, and the way the world should be treated. However, the Mohawk ideals are not as far from traditional European ideals after all. If Euro-American society followed the teachings of the Christian religion there would be less warfare and evil in the world.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Chapter 2
Symbolism

What are symbols? Symbols are things that stand for something else. For example, the cross is the symbol of Christianity. The Star of David is the symbol for the Jewish religion. Both Canada and the United States, and many nations around the world, have flags that are symbols of their countries. The Confederacy is symbolized by wampum.

Some symbols can be drawn as pictures, others can be carved in wood or stone. Sometimes they can be depicted with words. The creation story of the Kanienkehaka is full of symbolism. The words are put together in order to say something in an indirect way.

For example, when Mohawk people say that the earth lies on a turtle's back, this is a symbol for the continent of North America, a continent that was at one time inhabited solely by native people. There are other things in the creation story that are symbolic of deeper truths.

This chapter examines:

1. Literal And Symbolic Truths
2. An Example Of Iroquoian Symbolic Language
3. The Meaning Of This Symbolic Language

1. Literal And Symbolic Truths

Some people take creation stories literally. They believe that everything in them is the factual truth. When creation stories are taken literally, a great conflict of ideas and images are expressed between the stories of different peoples. When creation stories are taken symbolically, it is clear to see that there is a lot of similarity between people, from nation to nation.

A Good Historian Must Distinguish Between Literal And Symbolic Truths. A good historian is able to distinguish when something should be taken literally and when it should be taken symbolically. This skill is important for the understanding of history. A couple of examples may show the importance of this skill.

Sometimes when sombody wants to say that there was a large crowd at an event, for example at a football game, they will make the statement that there were millions of people present. When this is said, nobody seriously believes that there were

millions of people at the game, and the statement is not taken literally. An exaggeration like this is not a lie, it is simply a way of communicating the fact that a large crowd was at the football game. This is called speaking in hyperbole, and is symbolic language.

People do this now and have done this for thousands of years. In biblical days, instead of saying "millions" to say a large number of people, the ancient Hebrews used to say "seven thousand". Seven was a magical number to the ancient Hebrews, and they thought of seven thousand as being like what people today regard millions.

Five Generations Had Symbolic Meaning For Mohawk People. An example of symbolic meaning in Mohawk culture is found in the introduction to the creation story. The old story tellers used to always begin their stories with the statement:

> He who was my grandfather used to relate that truthfully, it was told by five generations of his grandsires that this is the manner in which the earth came about, and this is what he himself was in the habit of telling.

When the story teller uses the expression that the story was told by five generations of his grandsires, what is meant is that the story was told by many generations of Mohawk ancestors. For the Kanienkehaka the number five was a symbolic number of a great quantity. To speak of five generations of grandsires was to speak in hyperbole, symbolically, of something that has happened for a very long time.

Why is it important to understand these uses of symbolic language? It is important because documents that are written in history always need to be translated. This is true even when these documents are written in a language that people can speak and read, such as the English language. What did the writer mean to say when he wrote? Can one understand the document better when one understands the meanings of the symbols that people used to communicate with?

2. An Example Of Iroquoian Symbolic Language

Following is an example of how native people used symbolic language when speaking to Europeans. The speech was made on October 2, 1696 at a meeting between some chiefs of the Five Nations and representatives of the State of New York. The main speaker was Dackashata, a Seneca. He was addressing Caijenquiragoe, the Iroquois name for Col. Benjamin Fletcher of New York:

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

We come to condole the losse you daily receive having daily alarms of sculking partyes of the enemy doing mischeife. Then laid down a belt of Wampum.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

I am come with the whole House to consider what tends to the common good of the whole House.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

We come to renew the Covenant Chain with all the brethren of New England, Connecticutt, New Yorke, the Jerseys, Pensilvania, Maryland & Virginia that they may partake of the warmth of the fire.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

We recommend to all that are in theCovenant Chain to be vigorous to keep it up.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

When all is said I drinck to all your healths

& then I deliver you the cupp.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

There has been a cloud and we come to remove it, as the sun in the morning remove the darkness of the night.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

The Tree of safety and welfare planted here we confirme it.
Brother Caijenquiragoe,

As the tree is planted here and confirmed, so we make fast all the roots and branches of it, all the brethren of the Five Nations and the brethren of Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, the Jerseys, New Yorke, Connecticutt, & New England.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

We wish we may rest in quietnesse under that tree. We fill it with new leaves, and wish all that are in the Covenant Chain may have the benefit to sitt down quiett under its shaddow.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

I do hereby renew the Covenant Chain with all that have put their hand in it Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, the Jerseys, New Yorke, Connecticutt & New England.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

We renew the Covenant Chain in behalf of the whole House, the Mohaques, Oneydes, Onondages, Caijouges and Sinnikes.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

We have lately had the losse of two Castles by the enemy, we have concluded to do our best to assist them and we desire Caijenquiragoe will do the same.

Brother Caijenquiragoe,

We wish the Cannoes may go to and again in safety that the Great King may know what we have here said and that we may have an answer. We now have our work good; here is the cup. Then laid down some small bundles of bever saying, – It is but small, but is as it were saved out of the fire. [1]

3. The Meaning Of This Symbolic Language

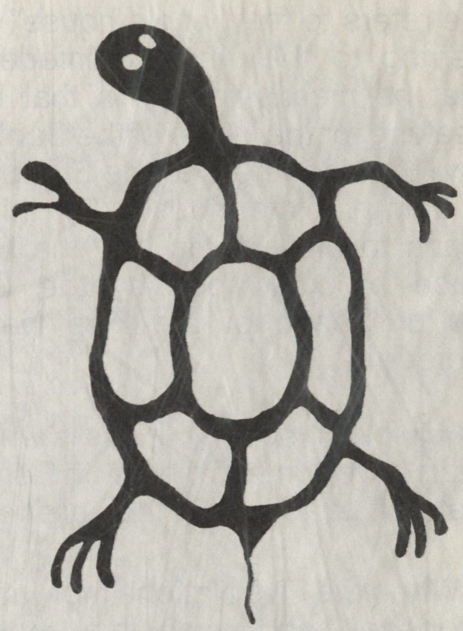
There are quite a few words and expressions that need to be explained in this passage because they are symbolic. Some of these are:

A. "Brother Caijenquiragoe": Why is this Seneca chief referring to the representative of the Governor of New York, a European, as brother?

Iroquoian society and political life is traditionally based upon the family. Therefore, if an Iroquois wanted to establish a relation with somebody, he did so first as a relation of kin. The kin relation of equality was brother. Therefore, to call a man your brother was to relate to him as an equal. The equivalent of this today would be to call a man by his first name. When the Iroquois wished to show respect for a man, they would refer to him as "older brother", or "grandfather". Women, of course, would be referred to as "sister", "older sister", "mother", "aunt" or "grandmother". European people did not often understand this, and when they were addressed in this manner by the Iroquois they often thought that they were being adopted. Actually they were just being treated politely by the Five Nations.

B. "Wampum": Why did the speaker lay wampum down at the end of his speech?

When the people of the Five Nations wanted to seal a bargain they laid down a belt of wampum. Oftentimes the design on the belts symbolized the business of the council. European



people liked to write things down in books. Therefore, for every treaty there should be a wampum belt that shows the native side of the story. Whenever there is a so-called treaty that does not include a belt, in all likelihood it was not a real treaty. Laying down the wampum, therefore, meant sealing a bargain.

C. "The whole House": Why does the Seneca refer to his colleagues as a House?

The Iroquois referred to themselves as the Hotinonsionne, or the People of the Longhouse. The Longhouse was itself a symbol of the Confederacy. Therefore, when the Seneca speaker

here refers to the "whole house" he is referring to the whole Confederacy. What he means to say is that he is speaking for the whole of the Confederacy. He also refers to the Europeans as being in the house. By this he means to invite them into the life of peace brought upon by the Great Law of Peace of the Five Nations Confederacy.

D. "Quicken the fire": If this is why the Chiefs have come to meet with Fletcher, what is it exactly that they are to do?

When the Five Nations met with the Europeans, and when they met just amongst themselves, they would light a fire to bring light to the discussion, and warmth to all the people present. The "capital" of the Five Nations was at Onondaga, and the Onondaga were called the firekeepers of the Confederacy. The fire was always to be kept burning and it was the responsibility of whoever believed in the peace of the Great Law to bring their concerns to the fire and discuss them openly. By referring to the fire in this passage, the Seneca is reminding the people of New York that they too must help to preserve the Great Peace.

E. "Covenant Chain": What is a covenant chain?

The covenant chain was a symbol for the unity of the Confederacy and the relationship of the Five Nations to the Europeans. A covenant is a solemn agreement. The chain was brought all of the way from Seneca country, through the territory of the Cayuga, on to Onondaga and the territory of the Oneida. Then it was continued into the land of Kanienkeh and tied to the Europeans at Albany. The first covenant chain was made of iron, or so they spoke of it. The second chain was made of silver, because the Five Nations were afraid that the iron chain would rust. By reminding the English of the covenant chain, the Seneca are

reminding them of their solemn agreements to keep the peace and not to interfere in the affairs of the Five Nations people.

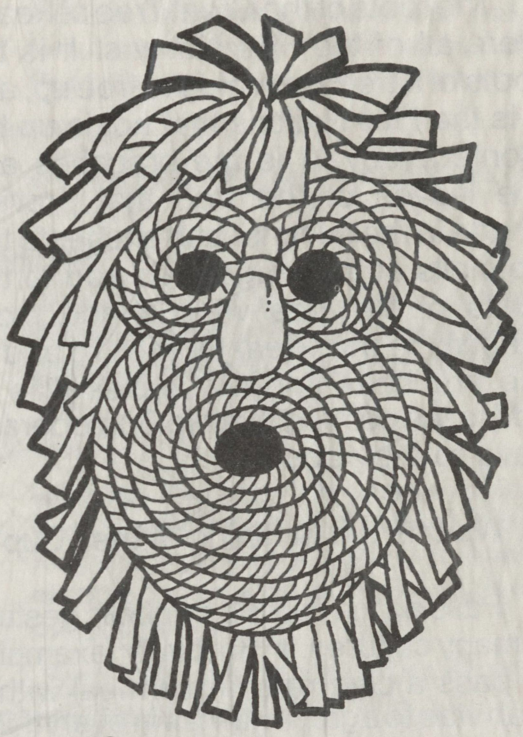
F. "Partake of the warmth of the fire": By partaking of the warmth of the fire, are the chiefs simply asking the people from New York to warm up?

By partaking of the warmth of the fire, the Iroquois were saying to the people from New York, "Do not stand out in the cold, come in and join with our people, and share with them in hospitality". What does hospitality mean? It means meeting together with respect and accepting the things that are offered. Partaking of the warmth of the fire was a symbolic way of saying, "Join with us in council as equals".

G. "Cloud and darkness of the night": How do the Seneca hope to change the weather?

When things are cloudy or dark, it is hard to see. When the Seneca chief refers to the fact that he hopes to throw off the clouds and darkness of the light, he means that he hopes to make things very clear. Only when things are seen clearly, without the cover of the clouds and darkness, can good, purposeful discussions take place.

H. What is "the Tree of safety and



welfare"?

The Confederacy was formed under the Great Tree of Peace. This tree was uprooted and into the hole below were thrown all of the weapons of war. The tree was therefore a symbol of the whole Confederacy. To gather under it was to be in a safe place and a place where your welfare would be looked after. The tree could be uprooted again and the weapons taken out, if the peace of the Five Nations was ever violated.

I. What is the significance of the references to the "branches, roots and leaves of the Tree of safety"?

The roots of the Great Tree of Peace were all of the Five Nations. It is the roots of a tree that hold the tree up, and it is the Five Nations that holds up the Confederacy. It is the branches and the leaves of the tree that provide shade in the summer and shelter to the councils of the league. To add to the roots of the tree was to add more stability to the Great Peace. To add to the branches and the leaves was to add to the comfort that the Confederacy gave to the people.

J. What is the meaning of the "Cup"?

Passing the cup is a symbolic gesture in many cultures. In Arabia for example, to pass a cup, or share a meal with a man was to agree with him in everything that has been said. In this case of a meeting between the Five Nations and the British from New York, the same thing is meant. If the British accepted the cup, it meant that they had agreed with everything that the Seneca chief had said.

K. What is the meaning of "laying down some bundles of beavers"?

Another common symbol in many cultures is the exchanging of presents. When the Seneca laid down a beaver skin it was a symbol of friendship. They would then expect the people from New York to make a similar gift to the Five Nations at the end of their return speech. It would have been considered very bad manners not to do so.

L. If the speech to Fletcher was to be made today, without any of the symbolic language attached, it would sound something like this:

Benjamin,

> We have come to tell you how sorry we are that some of your people have been killed by some of the enemy doing mischief. Here is a letter that puts this sorrow of ours in writing.

Benjamin,

> I have come with all of the Confederacy to consider what is best for us all.

Benjamin,

> We have come here to confirm the Peace and to agree again to our old treaties.

Benjamin,

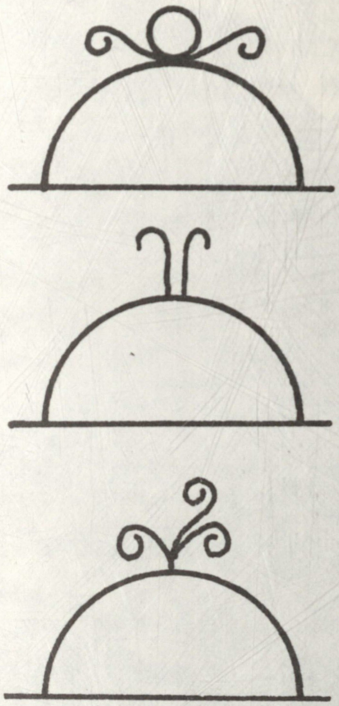
> We want to renew the old agreements with all of the people from New England, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia that they may all be safe in the Great Peace.

Benjamin,

> We recommend that everybody be very careful and agree to keep the Peace.

Benjamin,

> When all of this is said, I ask you if you do not agree with me.



Benjamin,

We need to discuss these things in the open and make all of the issues clear.

Benjamin,

We confirm that we will live according to the Great Peace. We agreed to this before at this place.

Benjamin,

We ask that the people of Connecticut, New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia confirm the Peace also.

Benjamin,

We all desire peace.

Benjamin,

We reconfirm the old agreements between us and the people of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland.

Benjamin,

We speak here for the whole of the Confederacy.

Benjamin,

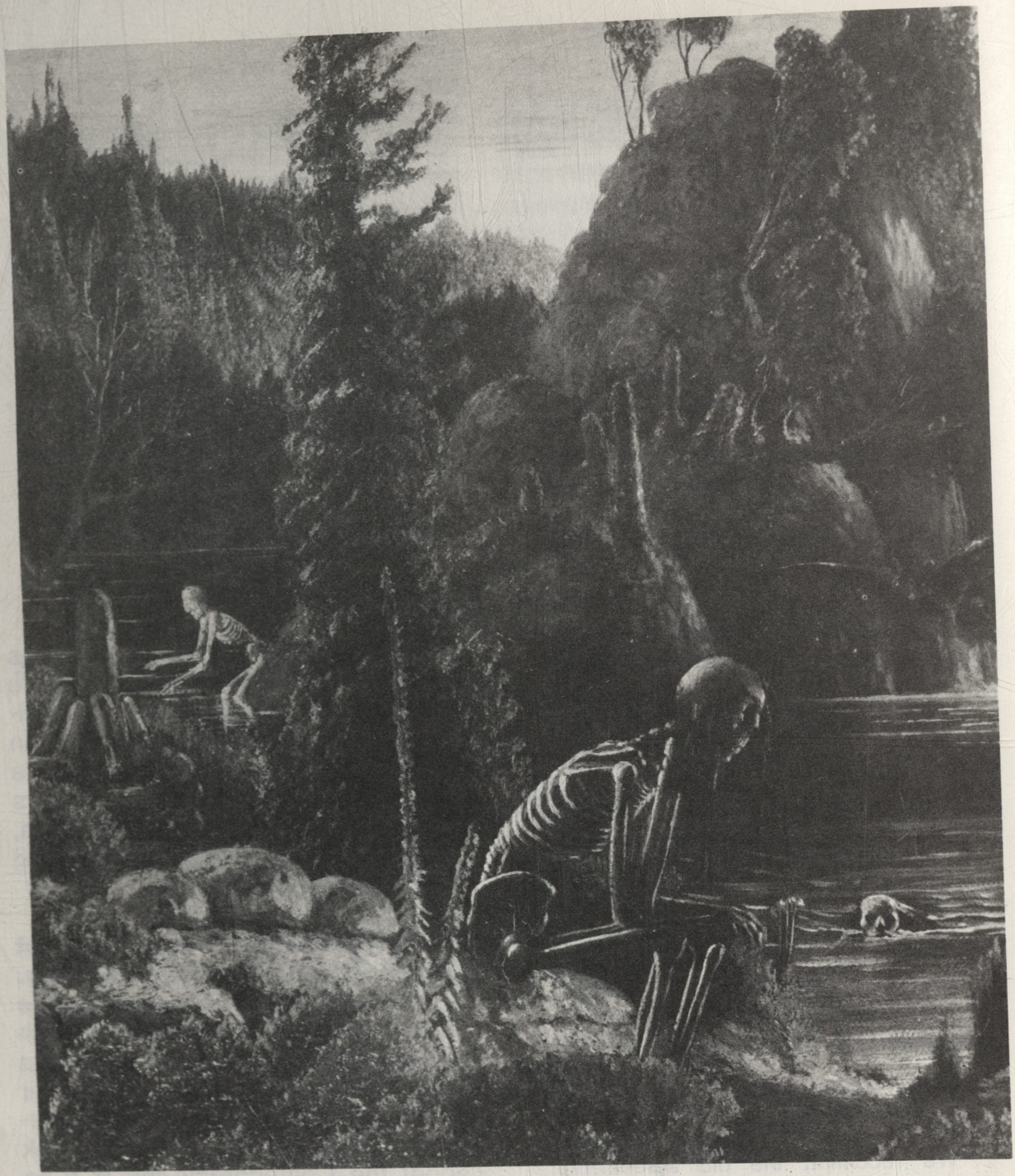
We recently lost two towns in the war. We will try to help these towns start up again, and hope that you will help them too.

Benjamin,

We hope that trade will open up again soon and that travel will be safe. Tell the King what we have said. Here is a present of some beaver pelts for you as a sign of our goodwill.

Symbolic speech is not as direct as non-symbolic speech, but it is more beautiful. For native people, the tradition of speaking was considered an important event. Some young people trained especially to be great orators and speakers. For the Kanienkehaka, therefore, the use of symbols in speaking was considered important.

Most European People Did Not Learn About Native Symbolism. There were some European people who understood the symbolic speech of the Mohawk people. One European who understood this speech was Sir William Johnson. Another was Cadwallader Colden. Colden wrote a book about the Confederacy and in it he



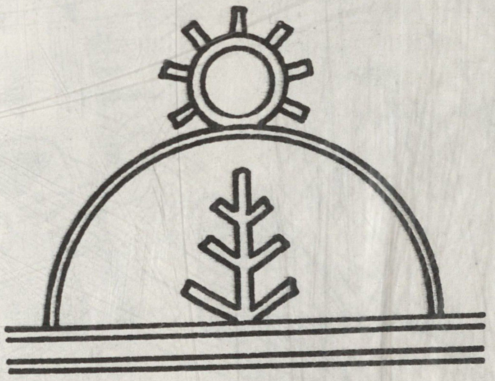
A painting of death by Guidon. (ND)

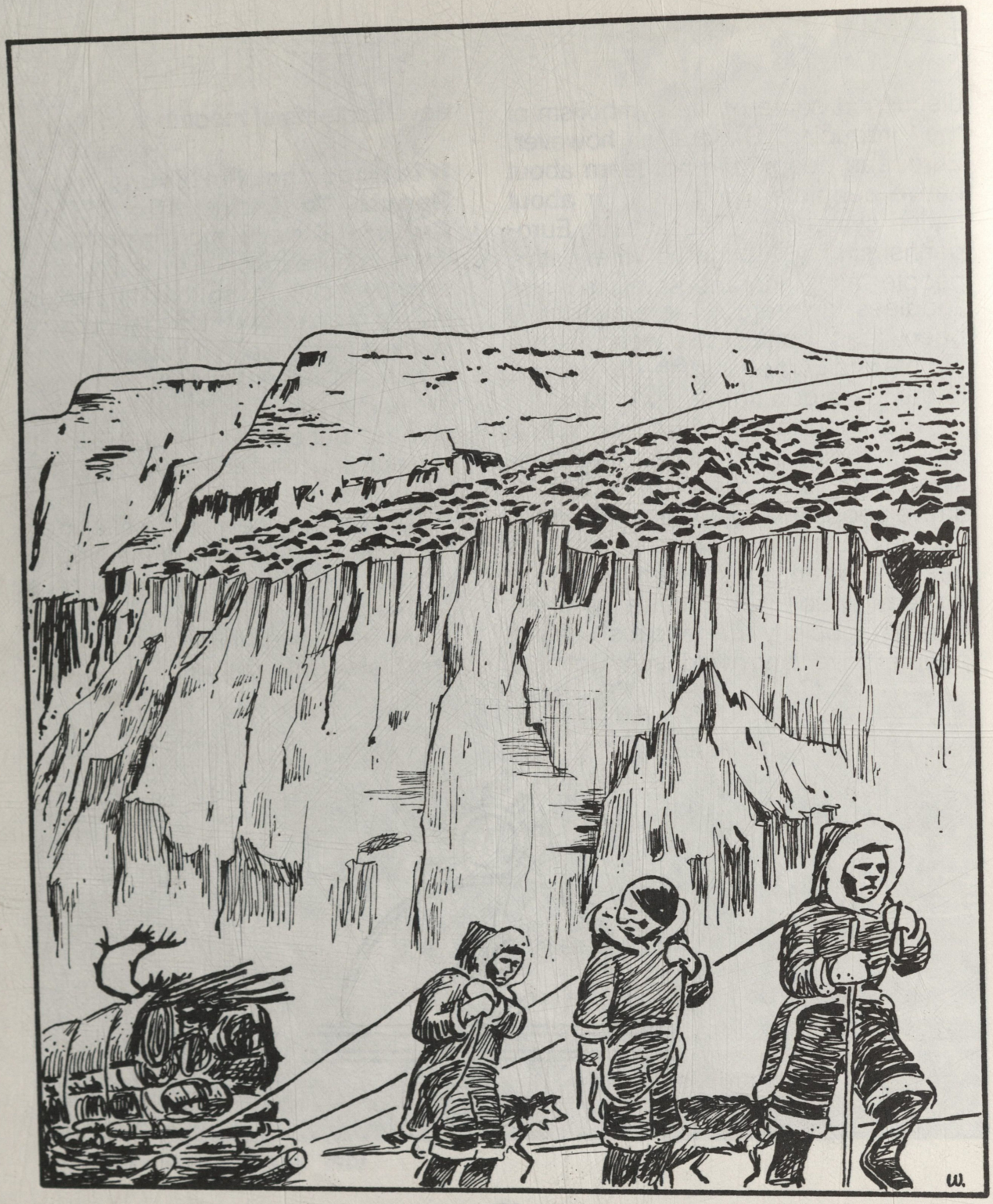
discussed some of the symbolism of the Iroquois. Generally, however, European people did not learn about native people's world view, or about native symbolism. These early Europeans simply thought of the native people as "ignorant savages" and "godless idolaters". There may have been less conflict between native people and Europeans if the Europeans had understood native world view.

The importance of understanding other people, their cultures and their symbolism is true for everybody. If native people are to coexist today with people of European, African, and Asian descent, then they too must learn something about non-native cultures. This is especially true because native people have borrowed some of the developments of modern society.

It is Important For Young Native People To Learn About Their Culture. It is even more important for young native people to learn about their own culture, so that they will be able to grow up and help to secure that culture and society in the modern world. In order to understand Mohawk culture, it is necessary to study the symbolism of past generations of the Kanienkehaka, and to be able to interpret it for the future.

The youth of the Mohawk Nation are the hope for the future of the Kanienkehaka. This future will depend a great deal upon how well these young people apply themselves in the study of their own history and culture.

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Chapter 3
Origin Theories

The creation story of the Mohawk people is both a literal and symbolic statement that the Kanienkehaka have been in North America for all of time. The creation story can be interpreted literally, that is, saying that the ancestor of all native people originally fell to the earth from the sky; or symbolically, suggesting that native people developed independently as a human species in the western hemisphere. This second theory is called the theory of independent evolution.

European people have always failed to believe either of these interpretations. Since their arrival in 1492 they have formed numerous theories about Native American origins. Because Mohawk people live in close contact with these people, it is important to examine some of the ideas about native people's origins held by Euro-Americans.

This chapter examines:

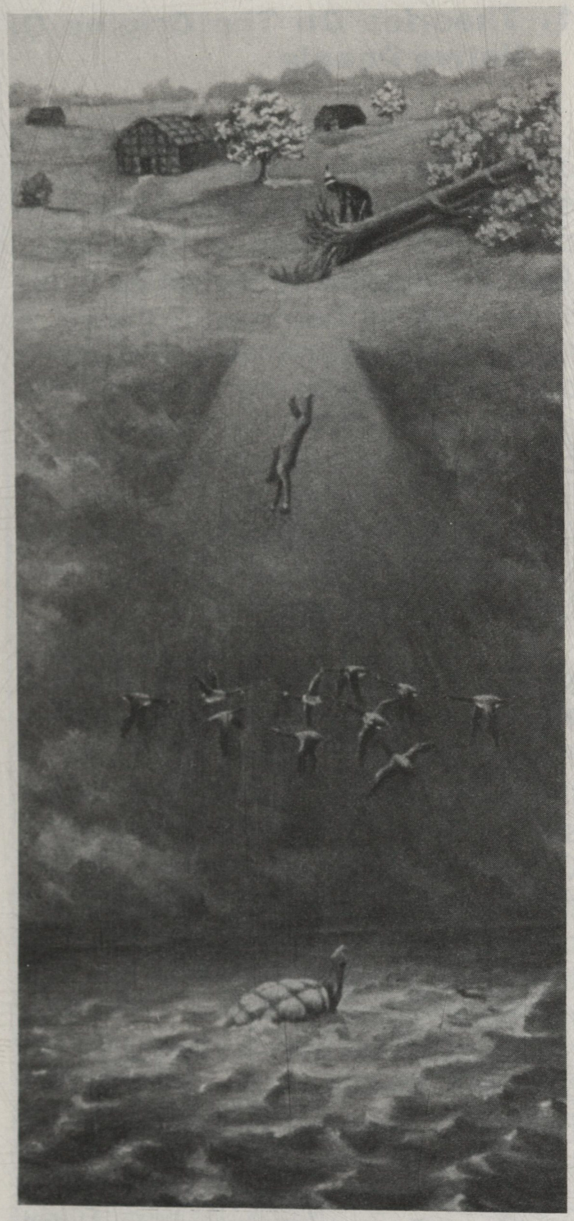
1. Theories On The Origins Of Native People
2. The Bering Strait Theory
3. A Summary Of Native Feelings Towards Origins

1. Theories On The Origins Of Native People

Before beginning it is important to define the term "theory". When a scientist has an idea that he wants to check out, he forms a hypothesis. After the hypothesis stands up to his initial tests, it becomes a theory. It must be tested over and over again before it becomes a law. A theory is not a fact. Often these theories are discarded as new evidence shows itself. In order to have a serious theory, a scientist must try to disprove his own ideas, to see if any other theories are better than his own.

Many Europeans Thought That Native People Were Descended From The Lost Tribes Of Israel. In the Bible, which includes the creation story of the early Hebrews and later the Christians, there is mention of the twelve tribes of Israel. After Moses crossed the Red Sea and wandered in the Sinai desert for forty years, the Hebrews finally reached Palestine. However, of the twelve tribes who set out with Moses, only ten reached Palestine. There is no explanation in the Bible for what happened to the other two tribes.

When Europeans arrived in North and South America, they thought that they were in Asia. When they met



The fall of Sky-Woman and the beginning of the earth. This painting is by Ernie Smith, a Seneca artist. (RMSC)

native people, some Europeans thought that these native people were the lost two tribes of Israel. This theory was a popular one amongst European people for three hundred years. European linguists, people who study languages, spent thousands of hours and even thousands of more dollars trying to show that native languages were related to ancient Hebrew. Some of these linguists actually believed that they had proven this theory. Later on some native people became involved in linguistics and showed how foolish this theory really was.

Why did Europeans want to believe this theory so much? It is hard to say for sure, but they were probably still upset that they had not located the missing tribes. It is always embarrassing when ambiguities appear in an important piece of work like the Bible, and so people created theories to clear up these confusions.

The Europeans Thought That The Temples And Pyramids Of The Americas Were Built By The Egyptians. Native people in Central, South America and of the mound civilizations in North America used to build huge temples and pyramids. Some of these pyramids look very much like the pyramids of Egypt. This similarity started up another theory amongst the Europeans. This theory suggested that

native Americans were actually Egyptians who had crossed over the ocean on large rafts made of Papyrus.

There were civilizations in central Asia, southeast Asia, Africa and Europe that have built pyramids and mounds. Europeans were able to accept that Asians and Africans built temples and pyramids. Why could they not believe that the temples and pyramids of the Americas were made by native people?

The reason is simple and unpleasant. The Europeans simply thought that native people were not intelligent enough to build these great works.

Europeans did not want to believe that one of the largest medical libraries in the world was an Aztec library in Mexico. Therefore, they destroyed this library. Europeans did not want to believe that the Mayan calendar was closer to reality than the outdated Julian calendar, so they destroyed the large Mayan codices used to chart the seasons. Europeans did not want to face the fact that the native Americans they had been enslaving and killing were not savages, so they created a theory that all of the great monuments of the Americas were made by Egyptians.

The Jomon Theory Was Based On Pottery Tops. There is another theory about the origins of civilization in North and South America called the Jomon Theory. This theory suggests that native civilization originated in Japan because the tops of pots from a certain section of Japan are similar to the tops of pots made in a section of Peru. The whole Jomon theory is based on the tops of pots from these two distant parts of the world.

Ice Age nomads crossing the Bering Strait. (NG)

2. The Bering Strait Theory

The theory about native origins which is most widely accepted by Euro-Americans is the Bering Strait theory. It is however a theory and can not be completely proven.

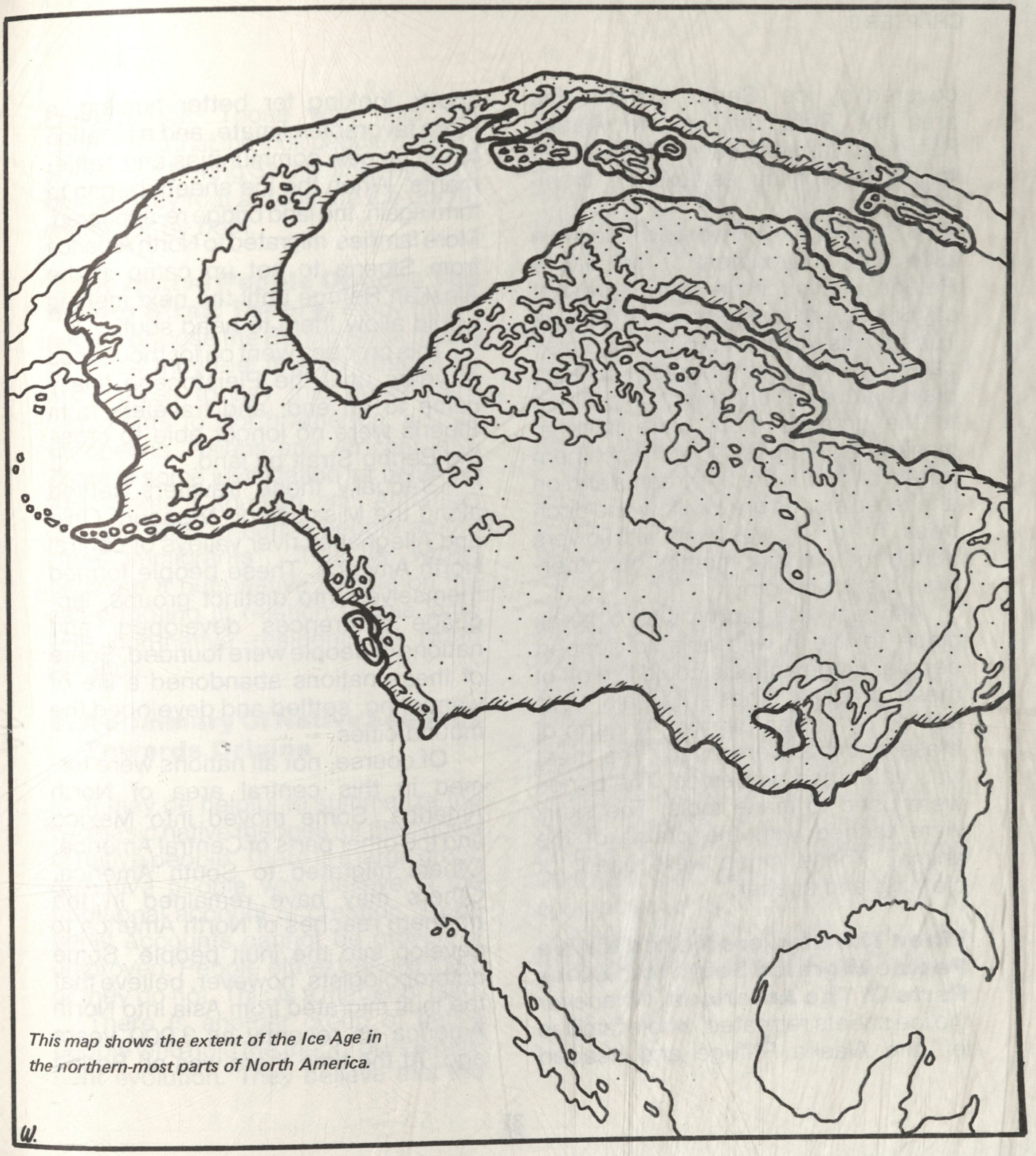
Anthropologists Believe That Human Life Originated In Africa. Many anthropologists believe that human life first appeared in parts of eastern Africa. From here there was migration into other parts of Africa, Europe and Asia. Northeastern Asia and Alaska are today separated by a body of water fifty six miles across called the Bering Strait. However, 40,000 years ago, this area of Asia and Alaska was connected by dry land. At that time family groups of hunters began to travel by foot from Asia into Alaska. Arriving in northern Alaska, these hunters were the first native people of North America.

It is important to note that in this theory, these native people were not immigrants to North America. They were occupying a land that was not occupied by humans before this time. They were, as their descendants remain today, the "original people" of North America.

During The Ice Age The Bering Land Bridge Formed. How would it have been possible for Asian hunters to cross over the Bering Strait? Geologists, people who study the physical history and structure of the earth, claim that there was a length of time lasting about two million years called the Pleistocene. During the Pleistocene, there were at least four periods when huge walls or sheets of ice formed and crept down over much of the continent of North America. These ice sheets are called glaciers by geologists. In between these periods the climate was very much like it is today and the ice sheets melted. Sometimes the Pleistocene is called the Ice Age.

When these ice sheets formed, they used up great quantities of water that oridinarily would have been in the oceans. With so much of the ocean levels lowered, the shorelines of today's continents were very different. For example, the islands of Japan were not islands at all. They were connected with the mainland of Asia. More importantly, there was a land bridge at least several hundred miles wide connecting Asia with North America. Geologists call this land bridge the Bering Land Bridge.

But even with the land bridge from Asia, the huge walls of ice covered much of what is now Canada and the northern United States. Where could the early ancestors of native people live? A large portion of Alaska was not



This map shows the extent of the Ice Age in the northern-most parts of North America.

covered by ice. Geologists call this area the Refugium, or the Alaska Refuge. It was here that the first settlers to North America established themselves.

The Tundra Supported Human Life. The environment of the Alaska Refuge was much like that of present day Siberia, arctic and sub-arctic Canada. Tundra was the most prominent physical feature. Tundras are grassy covered plains with a wet under mat. In addition to the grasses there were lichens, mosses and sedges. Along the southern edges of the tundra by streams and on sheltered slopes grew willow and birch trees. The tundra was bright with flowers during the summer months but otherwise bleak and gray.

Although the tundra was a bleak place to live it was able to support people. Large animals could live off of these grasses. These animals were hunted by human beings. All parts of these animals were used. The meat was eaten and preserved. The bones were used to make tools. The skins were tanned with the brains of the animal. These hides were used for clothing and shelter.

When The Glaciers Melted Native People Migrated South Into Other Parts Of The Americas. Whenever the ice sheets retreated, whole families left the Alaska Refuge and headed south, looking for better hunting, a more favorable climate, and a location to set up new communities and settlements. When the ice sheets began to form again, the land bridge re-appeared. More families migrated to North America from Siberia to set up camp in the Alaskan Refuge until the next melting would allow them to head south.

This process went on for thousands of years until the Pleistocene finally came to an end, and travelers from Siberia were no longer able to cross the Bering Strait by land.

Gradually these travelers settled along the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio and Alleghaney river valleys of central North America. These people formed themselves into distinct groups, language differences developed, and nations of people were founded. Some of these nations abandoned a life of wandering, settled and developed the mound cities.

Of course, not all nations were formed in this central area of North America. Some moved into Mexico and the other parts of Central America. Others migrated to South America. Others may have remained in the northern reaches of North America to develop into the Inuit people. Some anthropologists, however, believe that the Inuit migrated from Asia into North America as recently as 3,000 years ago. At the time there was no Bering

Land Bridge. Those who hold this opinion feel that the Inuit people traveled across the Bering Strait either by small boats, or by foot across the ice during winter, or by both.

Many Native People Oppose The Bering Strait Theory. Many native people oppose the Bering Strait theory because they feel it is an attempt by non-natives to say that natives are immigrants to North America, just as Europeans, Asians and Africans are. There is some justification for believing this. Some Canadian and American schools refer to native people as the "first immigrants". This is wrong because it puts native people on the same footing in relation to this land, with non-native residents of North America.

3. A Summary Of Native Feelings Towards Origins

It may be helpful to summarize the two basic native theories for the origins of native people. There is a large group of native people who believe in the traditional account of creation. Traditional accounts cannot be proven or disproven. People either believe them or they do not. This is a matter of faith.

There is another group of native people who hold the theory of independent evolution. They believe that the process of creation took millions of years to complete, and that human beings developed independently in a number of locations in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas. In order to prove this theory, however, a great deal of studying and research would have to be completed in both North and South America. The only people who have the time or the money to do this kind of research are the Euro-American people and their organizations. They already have a theory that satisfies them.

Finally, it should be pointed out that no matter which of these theories were proven true, (if any of them ever could be) under no circumstances should native people be referred to as the "first immigrants". Native people are the first occupants of North and South America. They have been given the special responsibility to care for the land and to make sure that it is cultivated, made beautiful and more pleasing for the habitation of man. There are three hundred million non-native people in North America. Native people are different from Euro-Americans in one important way. Native people have a special responsibility to the land which is theirs. They know that if they fail, they have no other home to go to.

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Chapter 4
Migrations

According to the traditions of the Six Nations, there was a time when Iroquoian people did not occupy the lands that they now hold. This theory is also supported by archeological and linguistic evidence. As far back as 8,000 years ago native people were living at sites that later developed into the mound civilizations of the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, and Alleghaney River valleys. Around 1,000 B.C. native people began building the first mounds. Mound civilizations were to flourish for the next 2,500 years. Some lasted up until the time of contact with Europeans.

The mound cities flourished at a time when Europe was being overrun by barbarians, in the period of western civilization called the Dark Ages. However, even at that time, groups of native people chose to leave the mound cities and live in small isolated settlements. Why then did native people leave the cities of North America and take up a life in the woods and in small towns along the lakes and small river valleys?

Before answering this question, one must take a look at the kind of life that native people had in the mound cities.

This chapter discusses:

1. Cahokia, A Mound City
2. Mound Cities As Class Societies
3. Migrations Of The Iroquois

1. Cahokia, A Mound City

Some of the largest mound cities were at Hopewell (Ohio), Cahokia (Illinois), Hiwassee Island(Tennesee), Poverty Point (Louisiana), Fig Island (South Carolina) and Koster (Illinois).

Cahokia Was A Typical Mound City. Cahokia was a typical mound city. It lay just east of the Mississippi close to the present site of St. Louis, Missouri. Cahokia had a population of nearly 30,000 people. Cahokia farmers grew corn, beans and squash. Hunters from the city went out of the city limits to hunt deer, ducks, geese and swans. Like other mound cities, Cahokia was near waterways that allowed fishermen to catch large numbers of fish. Inside of the city, craftsmen made pottery and baskets. These goods were taken by canoe up the Cahokia Creek to be traded to distant settlements. Trade items from as far away as Central America have been found in Cahokia. This is evidence of the great extent of the trade networks carried on by native

people.

Travelers coming into Cahokia probably arrived by canoe. Leaving the major river system and traveling up the Cahokia Creek, outlying clusters of homes came into sight about ten miles from the center of the city. These homes were made of log supports and matted grass and earth walls. Small mounds of piled earth lay between the clusters of homes.

Spread out even further between these home clusters were cultivated fields. Men, women and children worked in the fields preparing new gardens, weeding or taking in the harvest depending on the time of year.

The city itself was surrounded by a palisade, a wall of wood about fifteen to twenty feet high. The side of the city facing the river was the rear side, containing a few fields and homes and the backside of the largest Cahokia mound. A traveler pulling his canoe up onto the river's bank, could see this mound rising above the palisade. It rose about one hundred feet in the air, and covered a fifteen acre base. On top of the mound was a large building surrounded by a fence. In front of the mound was a plaza, or an open space, where meetings and other public affairs were held.

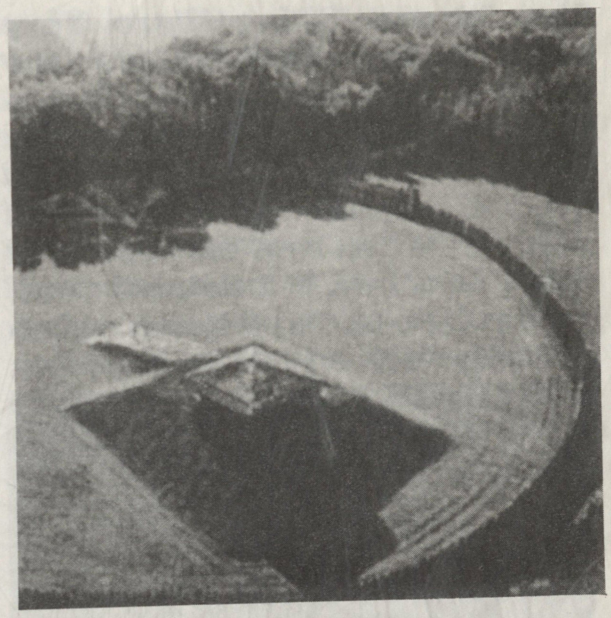
There were other mounds in Cahokia, but none nearly as tall as the central mound. Many of these mounds were topped by buildings and surrounded by fences. If one could enter inside some of them, one would discover that the mounds held the bones of the ancestors of the mound city builders.

A view of the city of Cahokia. (NG)

Mound Cities Were Different From European Cities. The mound cities were quite different from any native settlements in North America today. They were also quite different from any contemporary European cities. A stroll down a Cahokia street will point this out.

Unlike European cities, the mound cities were open and full of light. Unlike Europe, the people of North America were not short of land and did not have to build congested cities and buildings close together and jutting over the streets. There was also not as great a threat of warfare in early America as there constantly existed in Europe. The palisade was left unguarded for the most part, and men and women went about their work without living in the fear of attack and annihilation.

Homes and buildings were not laid out in straight and narrow streets in Cahokia, but in clusters around the mounds. Entering one of these clusters one would see a number of shops, homes and businesses. Mound city craftsmen fashioned articles from turtle shells, sea shells, mica rock, copper and ceramics. They also fashioned pieces from wood and soap stone. Mound city pipes are famous for their effigy designs. Effigies are representations of small animals carved into pipe bowls. Often the effigies were birds, bears, cats, frogs and fish. These items were used by the mound city people and buried with the dead in the mounds. Some of the workshops in the city specialized in pottery decorated with effigies. Some shops specialized in wood wares, others in the graceful ceramics and metal work that have been found in these early cities.



The remains of a mound city. (NG)

Because a family worked all day making these craft pieces, they had no time to grow the food necessary to feed the family. Pots and pipes are beautiful objects, but man cannot eat pots and pipes, These items were traded to farmers and hunters for a portion of their catch and harvest. This way, the craftsman and his family supported themselves.

The Mound Cities Were Very Sanitary. When 30,000 people come to live in a single place, they create a great deal of garbage and refuse in one day alone. This is a problem that does not exist in smaller communities, or in settlements that have the freedom of moving regularly. In the mound cities, such as Cahokia, the problem of rubbish was a severe one. If garbage was allowed to accumulate, there would soon be disease and widespread depression. This same thing happened in European cities where it was not taken care of. Because of this, there were horrible outbreaks of plagues and black death in Europe. This did not happen in the native cities of North America.

Squads of people were appointed to carry the garbage out of the city to be dumped at prearranged sites. Digging through these dumps, or midden heaps, thousands of years later, archeologists are able to recreate the living habits of the people of the mound cities.

Rubbish collection was not a pleasant task. The job fell on to those who were lacking land or the talents to engage in a trade. These people also had the unfortunate luck to be serfs to the city. When a family or a public official wanted to construct a large building or monument, it was these poor people who were engaged in the task. Mound cities were, therefore, class societies.

2. Mound Cities As Class Societies

What is class? Some societies have upper class people, middle class people, and lower class people. In the country of India there are many classes. A male child born into the family of a garbage man in the traditional society of India, will become a garbage man when he gets older. In Canada and the United States there is not as great a class system as in India, however, class differences do exist. For example, the rich people in some ways have more privileges and an easier way of living than poor people. This is often not a lesson taught, but it is nevertheless true.

Communist societies claim to be classless societies, but this is also not true. In Russia for example, there are people who have more power and are considered superior to the rest of the population. The people with power are richer than the people without power. The rich have power, the poor have none.

Specialization Of Labor Created Classes. One thing that causes the creation of classes is the need for a specialization of labor. Another look at Cahokia will point this out.

When 30,000 people live in one community, there must be large farms to feed all of the people. Therefore there must be a class of people who are farmers. In the city itself there are people who are craftsmen. They make the pottery, tools and art of the culture. Also in the city are the lawyers, doctors and priests.

The Priests Had A Great Deal Of Influence. The priests of these ancient civilizations were not like the priests of today. They had a special job and tremendous power. The mound cities were dependent upon the crops for their survival. They needed to know when the seasons would begin, when the rains would fall, and when was the correct time for planting. If all of the seeds were put into the ground too early and the snows returned and killed the seedlings, the people would starve. The priest was a man who could read the stars and tell when the seasons started. This was a specialized knowledge that only the class of priests possessed, and it was a knowledge carefully guarded. The priest told the people when it was time to regulate the agricultural cycle. In return the people gave the priests a large portion of their crops when the harvest was in.

The people believed that the crops given to the priests were gifts to the gods. Because the priest did not pass on his knowledge to the people, they were always dependent upon him and upon his children who would follow him in this profession. The priest did not have to work in the fields. Therefore, he could spend his time studying the stars and improving his knowledge. Meanwhile the people in the fields worked very hard.

Closely connected with the priest in

A cat effigy statue taken from a mound. (NG)

the early mound cities was the doctor. The doctors also claimed to have specialized knowledge and cured the people of the city for a fee. The mound city doctor usually knew plant medicines that could cure the people. The people believed that the medicine received its power through a special communication between the doctor and the gods.

The Poorest Class Were The Slaves. There were many classes in the mound city civilizations. The lowest and poorest class were the slaves. These men, women and children had no liberty and were forced to work for others much richer than they. The rich land owners made a profit from the slaves and grew even wealthier.

It is not known for sure what the class divisions of the mound cities were. The mound people did not leave a written record of their civilization. However, a few mound cities still thrived at the time of contact with the first Europeans in North America. From these civilizations anthropologists assume that the following divisions of the mound societies existed:

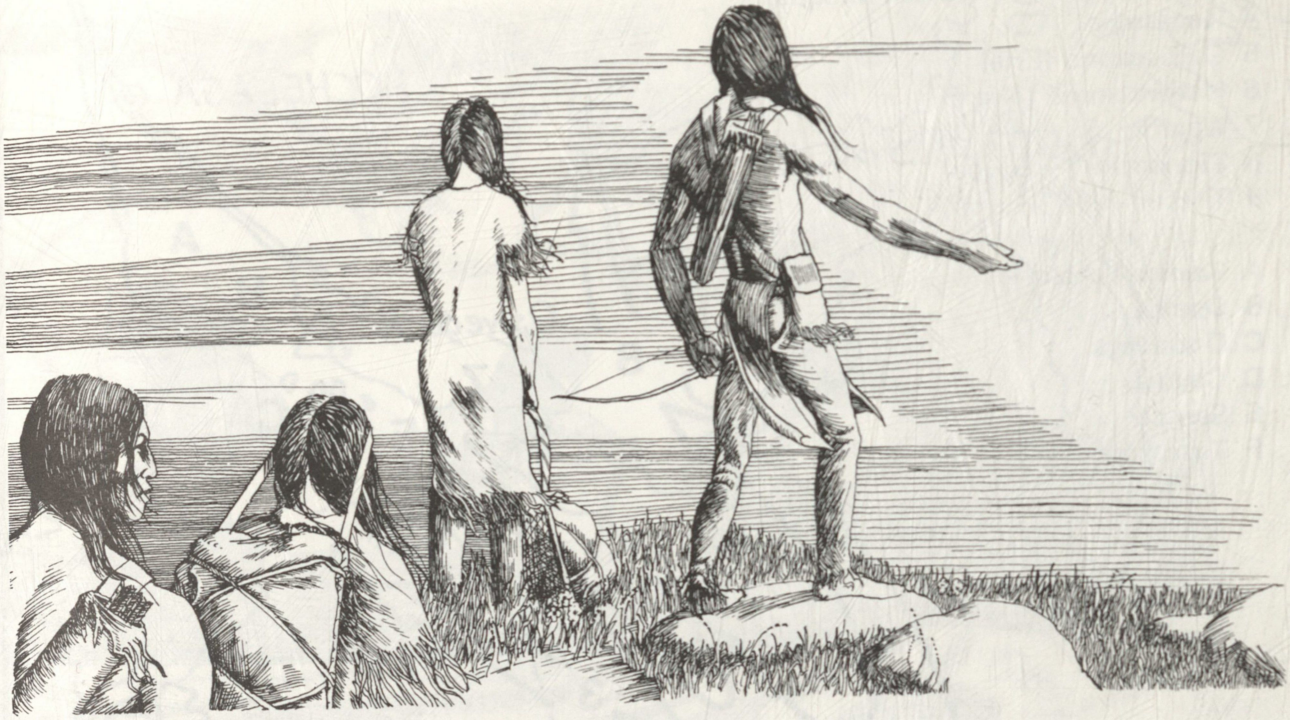
PRIESTS
PROFESSIONALS
(DOCTORS, TEACHERS, ETC.)
CRAFTSMEN AND FARMERS
HIRED LABORERS AND WARRIORS
SLAVES

3. Migrations Of The Iroquois

Although some mound cities still existed when the Europeans arrived many native nations had left the cities long before this. The mound cities were therefore disappearing.

Dr. Tax Has A Possible Answer To The Mystery Of The Disappearing Cities. Nobody is quite sure why the mound cities started to disappear in North America. One anthropologist, Dr. Sol Tax, has suggested a very good answer to this riddle. Dr. Tax has noted that when a society becomes highly specialized, classes develop. Where there are classes, there is inequality. Dr. Tax states that the majority of native American societies are opposed to the idea of inequality. Native people left the mound cities to begin a life of wandering, because living in them created inequality. They finally settled in the areas that these peoples occupied at the time of contact with Europeans.

The exact date when people started to leave the mound cities is impossible to pin point. From all possible evidence, however, it seems that the Algonquin people were the first to abandon the cities. Next the Loup or Pawnee people and the Iroquois people left. This was before the establishment of the Great Law of Peace. The Iroquois people consisted of all Iroquoian nations,



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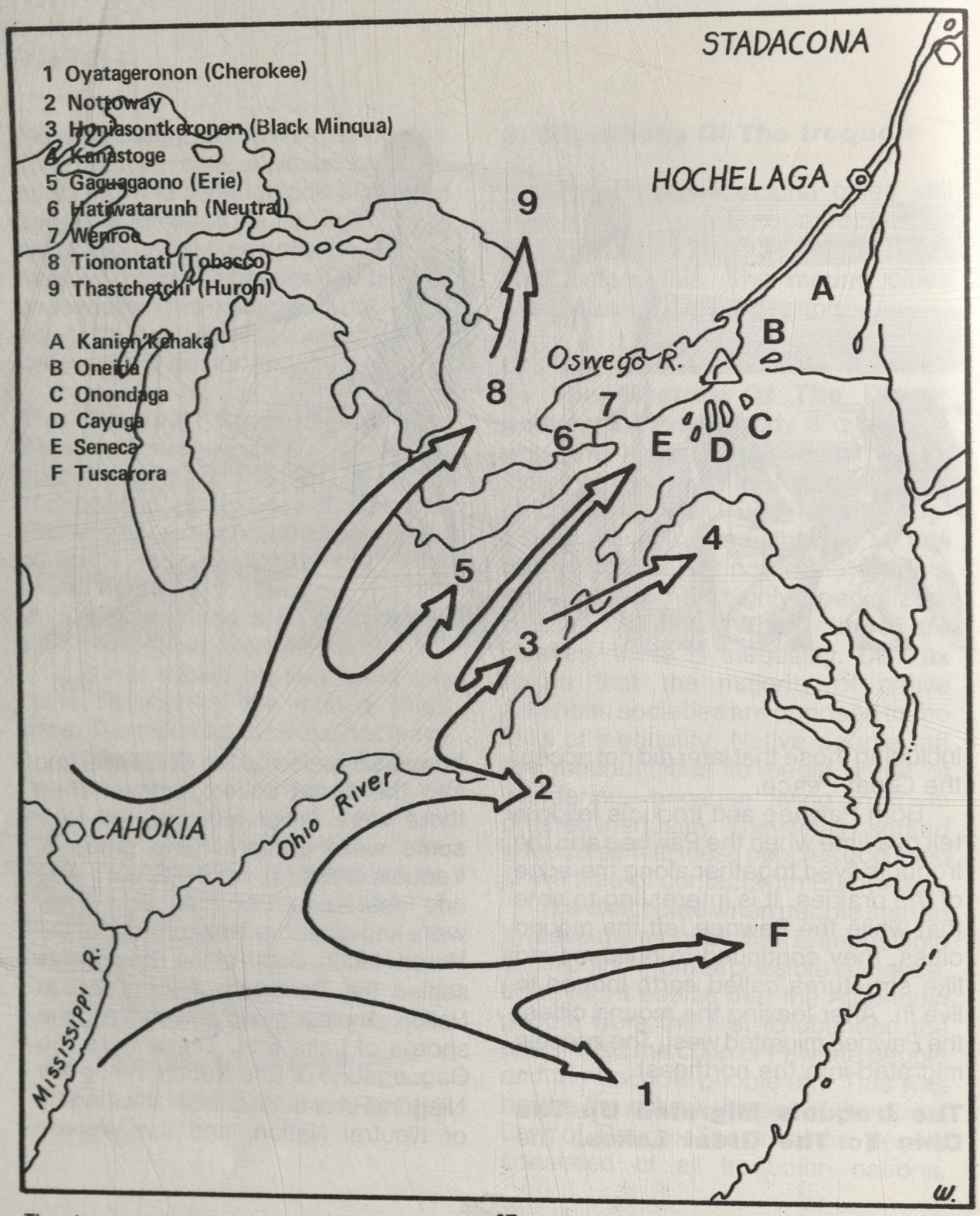
including those that later did not accept the Great Peace.

Both Pawnee and Iroquois folklore tell of a time when the Pawnee and the Iroquois lived together along the edge of the prairies. It is interesting to note that while the Pawnee left the mound cities, they continued to build mound like structures called earth lodges to live in. After leaving the mound cities, the Pawnee migrated west. The Iroquois migrated into the northeast.

The Iroquois Migrated Up The Ohio To The Great Lakes. The Iroquois traveled up the Ohio River and into the Great Lakes regions. Here there were fewer mounds, although some were present. One group of Iroquois crossed over the Great Lakes and settled at Georgian Bay. They were known as the Thastchechi or the Huron Nation. South of the Thastchechi settled the Tionontati or the Tobacco Nation. Another group settled along the shores of Lake Erie. These were the Gaguagaono or Erie Nation. Along the Niagara River settled the Hatiwatarunh or Neutral Nation, and the Wenroe



The migration of the Iroquoian people.

Nation. Along the Susquehanna River settled the Kanastoge Nation. To their west along the Upper Ohio the Honiasontkeronon or Black Minqua Nation built their towns. Up the Kanawha River migrated the Nottoway Nation. Further to the south and across the Appalachian Mountains migrated the Oyatageronon, or Cherokee Nation.

The Iroquois And The Adirondaks Clashed. The main group, the ancestors of the Six Nations continued down the St. Lawrence River until they met the Adirondak or Eaters of Bark Nation. The Adirondaks and the Iroquois fought with each other. Because the Adirondaks had a home base (the Iroquois were still wanderers) and superior numbers, the Iroquois were defeated.

For many years the Iroquois had to pay tribute to the Adirondaks. They paid them furs and meat. These were sad times for the Iroquois people. They kept up their ancient ceremonies and continued to give thanks to the Creator for the plants, waters, sun, moon, animals and winds, and they continued to long for their freedom. Men, women and children all talked of the day when

they would be strong enough in numbers to fight for their freedom.

Finally the day came and the Iroquois left the territory of the bark eaters and paddled up the Saint Lawrence River. They took with them all of their men, women and children and enough food to last them several months journey.

When the flotilla of Iroquois canoes neared the mouth of the Oswego River they noticed that they were being followed by the canoes of the bark eaters. The Adirondaks did not have men, women and children with them or a large amount of supplies to slow them down. The Iroquois were therefore at a serious disadvantage.

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There are times when a disadvantage such as this can turn into an advantage. When people defend their homes, women, children and old people they fight harder. The Adirondaks overtook the Iroquois at the mouth of the Oswego River. A great battle began. It looked bad for the Iroquois, but they continued to fight on to the death if necessary. In the midst of the battle, just as the fighting was going bad for the Iroquois, a storm broke out and turned over the canoes of the Adirondaks. Those Adirondaks who survived returned to their homes.

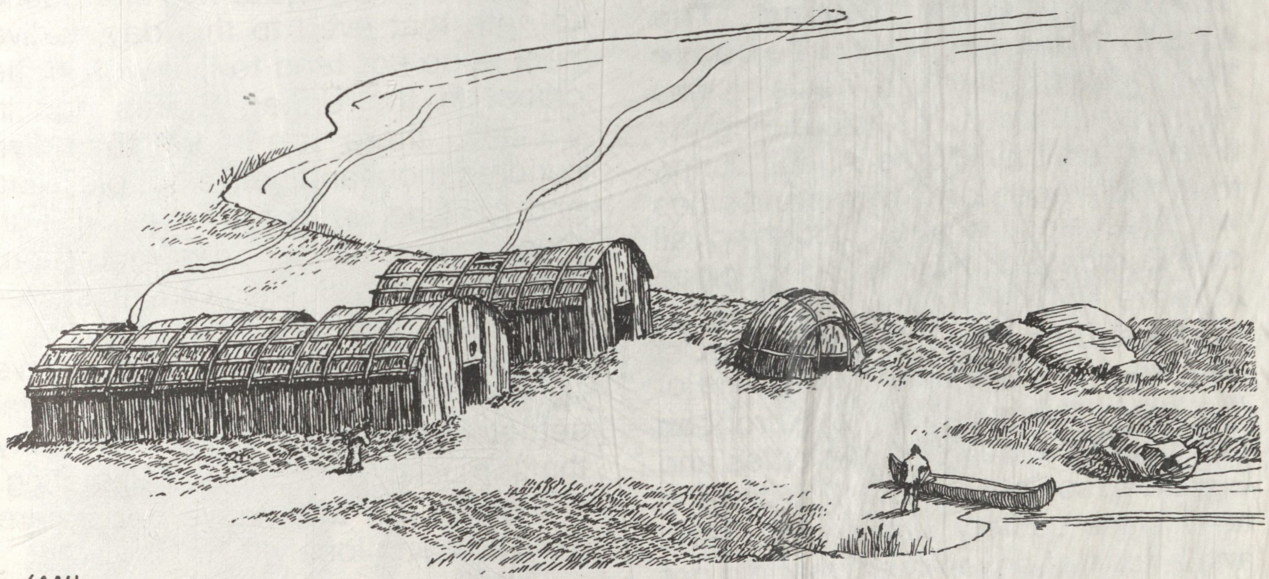
The Iroquois were now safe from the bark eaters. They occupied the land near the mouth of the Oswego River and lived in peace. The land was favorable and the hunting good. In time the Iroquois grew in population and prospered.

Each Iroquois Nation Settled In Its Own Territory. With this increase in population, there was a danger that the Iroquois would develop a mound city society. The Iroquois knew that the larger a city became, the greater the chance for specialization and the creation of a class society. They did not want this to happen, and so different groups of Iroquois people left Oswego and began expanding throughout present day Iroquois territory.

The Kanienkehaka, or the Flint People, traveled the furthest east and occupied the greatest territory. They settled on the northern most part of the St. Lawrence at Stadacona and Hochelaga and along the Mohawk River. The Oneidas, or the People of the Standing Stone, built their villages around Oneida Lake to the west of the Kanienkehaka. The Onondaga, or the People of the Hills, settled closest to the Oswego River around the Onondaga Creek. To the west of the Onondaga the Cayuga, or Great Pipe People, built their villages. Along the Canandaigua Lake settled the people of the Great Mountains, the Seneca. Finally, the Tuscarora, or People of the Shirt, built their homes to the south.

The Iroquois Valued Equality And Self-Reliance. In the new villages of the Six Nations the tradition of equality was kept strong. A European traveler who described Iroquois people remarked that they "tolerated no notions of slavery" and considered themself all as equals. This was true of everyone in the village: chiefs, medicine people, hunters, warriors, men, women and children.

There was some degree of specialization in traditional Iroquois settlements, but the value of the people was towards self-reliance. Self-reliance is the ability for a person to live by one's own skills. Therefore, a man or a woman learned some medicine, some hunting techniques, some farming, some crafts, and some of the traditions of the



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people. There were some older people who had more knowledge about one or more special subjects, such as canoe making, or pottery or basket making. This knowledge was never held back from the rest of the people.

Knowledge of the laws, customs and religious beliefs was held by all of the people. Men who held knowledge were also expected to participate in the hunt, or in the case of women, in agriculture. Traditional society was egalitarian, everyone was considered equal. This society was very different from the mound cities that the Iroquois had migrated away from. In rejecting the life of the cities, the Iroquois were making a stand for equality and the freedom of all people.

The Europeans During The Middle Ages Chose Not To Leave The Cities. This same decision was faced by European people during the time called the Middle Ages. During the Middle Ages large towns and cities were developing and flourishing all over Europe. Some Europeans decided to leave the cities to form alternative religious communities. Like the Iroquois, they were not satisfied with the life of the city. Unfortunately for European people, not enough left the cities and European society continued to develop as a class society with slaves, serfs and a form of government that did not allow the people a say in the running of things.

By the time native people met the Europeans, two different societies had emerged. Native people were a free people with an advanced philosophy, law and way of life. European philosophers who knew the faults of their own European society, admired the ways of Iroquois people, and wished that Europe could develop the way the Confederacy had. But most of the people who came to North America from Europe were not philosophers. Many were soldiers and adventurers interested only in enslaving native people and stealing their lands.

Native People Do Not Tend To Live Well In Cities. It is interesting to note that even to this day, native people do not tend to live well in the cities. In the United States and in Canada, there are more than five hundred thousand native people living and growing up in the cities. It is in these areas that drug addiction, alcoholism and sickness are most prevelent amongst native people.

These problems also exist for native people on reservations and in rural settlements. But it is the life of the city that is most depressing and alienating. It is in the city that native people are most lost and lonely.

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Chapter 5
The Founding of the Confederacy

The Iroquois who escaped the Adirondaks and established separate nations along the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence and Mohawk Rivers were not yet allied in a confederacy of nations. They were separate nations who along with the Tuscaroras, Hurons, Eries, Wenros, Cherokee, and Minquas spoke an Iroquoian language. Each nation was located in its own national territories, had trade relations with its Iroquois and non-Iroquois neighbors, but was otherwise unrelated politically or socially to its neighbors.

This chapter looks at:

1. Blood Feud
2. The Tekanawita Story
3. The Organization Of The Confederacy

1. Blood Feud

All of the Iroquoian peoples were organized according to a clan system and shared the same basic ceremonies of thanksgiving to the Creator. The law forbidding marriage within the same clan was honored by all nations. For example, it was improper for a Kanienkehaka of the Bear clan to marry a Seneca of the Bear clan. When a member of a family was killed in such a society, the whole family sought revenge on the family of the transgressor. This system of seeking justice is called a blood feud.

A blood feud system was present in many countries of the world. In Scotland families could seek out justice for wrongs done to members of a family. This feud system was also present to a certain degree in the southern Appalachian sections of the United States.

A Blood Feud Within A Society Breaks Down Social Unity. When a system of blood feud develops within a society all systems of law, order and social unity breaks down. One can imagine how such a situation could develop.

A member of the Bear clan is at the shore of a river, and is about to take the village canoe across the water. Just as he is about to put the canoe into the water, a member of the Turtle clan comes through the bush. The Turtle claims that he was there first and that he was just in the woods for a minute to hide a pack of furs. The two men are going in opposite directions and they argue about who should take the canoe,

which is the only one left on the bank. As they argue, the Bear takes out a knife. They struggle and the Turtle manages to turn the knife onto the Bear, and the Bear dies.

The Turtle then gets into his canoe and paddles down the river. Before he is out of sight, he is spotted and news that a Turtle has just killed a Bear is taken back to the village.

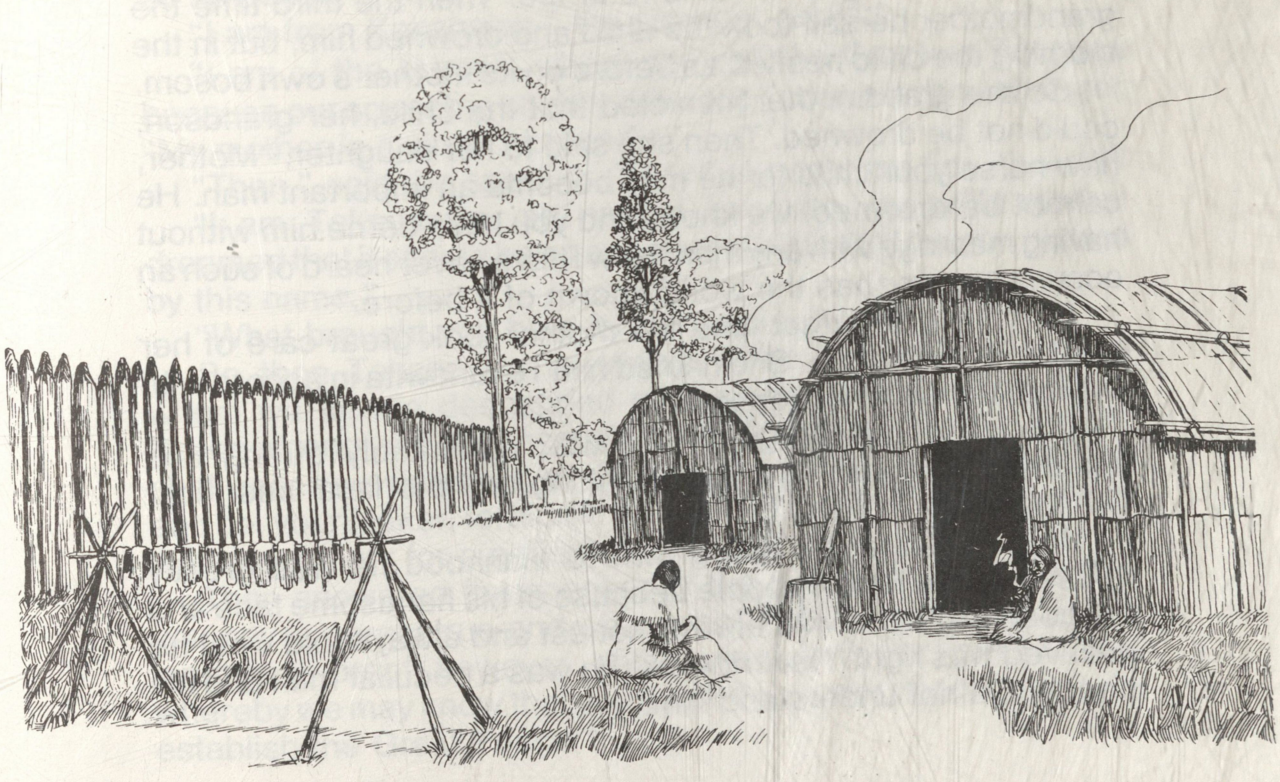
The Bear clan has a hasty meeting and decides to seek revenge for the killing. They decide to kill the man that killed one of their clan. However, it is not very clear which Turtle clan member it was who killed the Bear. The Bears leave the meeting in two groups. One group goes down river and finds the Turtle who killed their cousin. The other group waits by the shore and kills the first Turtle that comes across the river in a canoe. Now, two Turtles have been killed for one Bear. Soon the Turtles find out what happened and they begin to seek revenge on the Bears. In a very short time, the whole village is involved and the society falls apart.

2. The Tekanawita Story

The system of blood feud almost destroyed Iroquoian society. However, before this could take place, the Peace Giver, Tekanawita, brought the Great Law and restored order to Iroquois society. The story of the founding of the Great Law of Peace is called the Tekanawitan Epic.

The story of the founding of the Confederacy and the Great Law of Peace is meant to be passed on orally, that is by word of mouth. The story was written down a few times at the turn of the century, each time by an Iroquois person. Three important versions are available today; the Seth Newhouse account, the Parker account and that written by John Hewitt. Newhouse was an Onondaga, Parker a Seneca and Hewitt a Tuscarora. The version that follows is that of Parker. Some changes have been made to improve spelling and word selection, but otherwise the story has not been altered.

North of the beautiful lake now called Ontario, in the land of the Hurons, was a long winding bay; and at a certain spot was the Huron town, Kakanaien. Nearby was the great hill, Thironatharataton. In the village lived a good woman who had a virgin daughter. Now strangely this virgin conceived and her mother knew that she was about to bear a child. The daughter about this



time went into a long sleep and dreamed that her child should be a son whom she should name Tekanawita. The messenger in the dream told her that he should become a great man and that he should go among the Kanienkehaka to live and that he should also go to the Onondaga Nation and there raise up the Great Tree of Peace. After the usual time the virgin gave birth to a boy, but the grandmother greatly disliked him and she scolded her daughter.

"You refuse to tell me the father of the child," she said, "and now how do you know that great calamity will not befall us, and our nation? You must drown the child."

So then the mother took the child to the bay and chopped a hole in the ice where she customarily drew water and threw him in, but when night came the child was found at his mother's bosom. So then the mother took the child again and threw him in the bay but at night the child returned. Then the third time the grandmother herself took the child and drowned him, but in the morning the child nestled as before on its mother's own bosom.

So the grandmother marveled that the child, her grandson, could not be drowned. Then she said to her daughter, "Mother, now nurse your child for he may become an important man. He cannot be drowned, we know, and you have borne him without having marriage with any man. Now I have never heard of such an occurrence nor has the world known of it before."

Beginning with that time the mother took great care of her child and nursed him. She named him Tekanawita in accord with the instruction of her dream.

The child rapidly grew and was remarkably strong and healthy. His appearance was striking and his face was most handsome.

When Tekanawita had grown to manhood he was greatly abused by the Huron people because of his handsome face and his good mind. He was always honest and always told what he believed was right. Nevertheless he was a peculiar man and his people did not understand him.

Many things conspired to drive him away for the Hurons had no love for such a man. Their hearts were bitter against a man who loved not war better than all things.

After a journey by canoe across the lake, he came into the hunting territory of the Kanienkehaka. He journeyed on to the lower fall of the river now called the Mohawk and made a camp a short way from the fall on the flat land above it. He sat beneath a tall tree and smoked his pipe in quiet meditation.

A man of the Kanienkehaka passed by and seeing the fire and the stranger, approached him cautiously to discover what weapon he had, if any. The Kanienkehaka saw that the stranger had no weapon. Returning to the town a short distance away the presence of the odd stranger was reported. Then the chiefs and their men went out and assembled about the man who smoked. One of the head men was delegated to question the stranger and so he asked, "From whence came you?"

"I am from Kakanaien," the stranger replied.

"I am of the Hurons, whom you call the Crooked Tongues because our speech is slightly different," answered the stranger, "My mother is a virgin woman."

"Then," said the speaker, "By what name are you known?"

"I am Tekanawita, so named because my virgin mother dreamed that it should be so and no one else shall ever be named by this name."

"What brought you here to us?" asked the speaker.

So then Tekanawita answered, "The Great Creator from whom we all are descended sent me to establish the Great Peace among you. No longer shall you kill one another and nations shall cease warring upon each other. Such things are entirely evil and he, your Maker, forbids it. Peace and comfort are better than war and misery for a nation's welfare."

Then answered the speaker of the Kanienkehaka, "All that you say is surely true and we are not able to contradict it. We must have proof, however, before we submit ourselves to you whereby we may know that you indeed possess rightful power to establish the Great Peace."

(AN)

So answered Tekanawita, "I am able to demonstrate my power for I am the messenger of the Creator and he truly has given me my choice of the manner of my death."

"Choose then," said the speaker, "a manner of destruction for we are ready to destroy you." Tekanawita replied, "By the side of the falls at the edge of a precipice stands a tall tree. I will climb the tree and seat myself in the topmost branches. Then shall you cut down the tree and I shall fall into the depths below. Will not that destroy me?"

Then said the speaker, "Let us proceed at once."

Tekanawita ascended the tree and it was chopped down.

A multitude of people saw him fall into the chasm and plunge into the water. So they were satisfied that he was surely drowned. Night came but Tekanawita did not appear and thus were the people sure of his death, and then were they satisfied.

The next morning the warriors saw strange smoke arising from the smoke hole of an empty cabin. They approached cautiously and peering in the side of the wall where the bark was loosened they saw Tekanawita. He was alive and was not a ghost and he was cooking his morning meal.

So the watchers reported their discovery and then were the chiefs and people truly convinced that indeed Tekanawita might establish the Great Peace.

THE TROUBLED NATIONS

For many years the Onkwehonwe had fought continous wars. So long had they fought that they became lustful for war and many times Entekhakakwa, the Sun, came out of the east to find them fighting. So successful were the Onkwehonwe in fighting that they said the Sun loved war and gave them power.

The nations of the Onkwehonwe sometimes fought other nations together and sometimes alone. Often they even fought amongst themselves. The Kanienkehaka and Senecas had no sympathy for each other and sometimes raided one another's settlements. The same feelings were felt by all nations of the Onkwehonwe.

Because of bitter jealousy and love of bloodshed, sometimes towns would send their young men against the young men of another town to practise them in fighting.

Even in his own town a warrior's own neighbor might be his enemy and it was not safe to roam about at night when Soikhakakwa, our Grandmother, the Moon, was hidden.

Everywhere there was danger and everywhere mourning. Men and women showed signs of the misery they felt. Feuds with outer nations, feuds with brother nations, feuds of sister towns and feuds of families and of clans made every warrior a stealthy man who liked to kill.

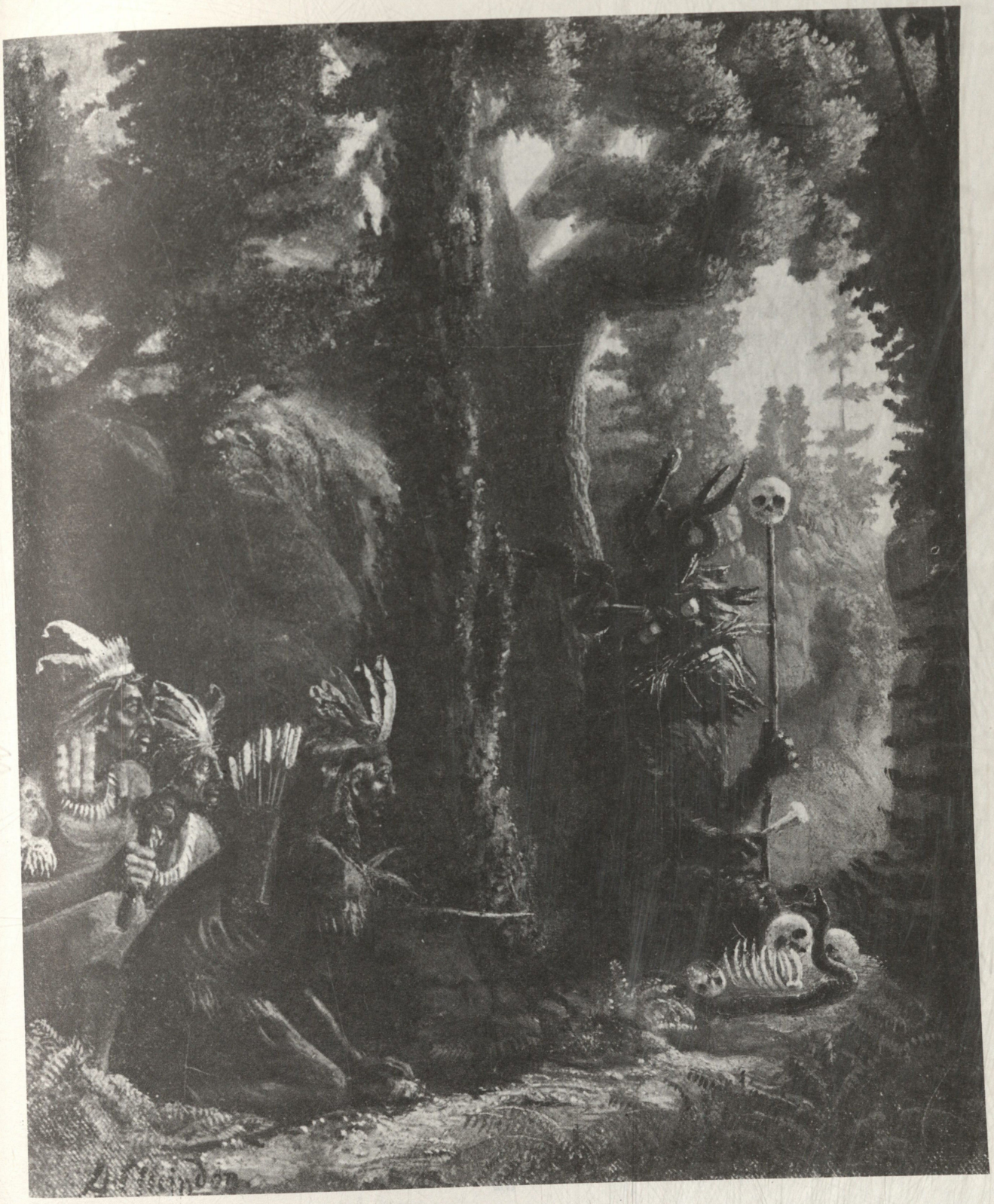
Then in those days there was no Great Law. Our founder had not yet come to create peace and give united strength to the Onkwehonwe.

In those same days the Onondagas had no peace. A man's life was valued as nothing. For any slight offence a man or woman was killed by his enemy and in this manner feuds started between families and clans. At night none dared leave their doorways lest they be struck down by an enemy's war club. Such was the condition when there was no Great Law.

South of the Onondaga town lived an evil-minded man. His lodge was by a swamp and his nest was made of bullrushes. His body was distorted by seven crooks and his long tangled locks were adorned by writhing living snakes. Moreover, this monster was a devourer of raw meat, even of human flesh. He was also a master of wizardry and by his magic he destroyed men but he could not be destroyed. Atotárho was the name of the evil man.

Notwithstanding the evil character of Atotarho the people of Onondaga, the Nation of Many Hills, obeyed his commands and though it cost many lives they satisfied his insane whims, so much did they fear him for his sorcery.

The time came, however, when the Onondaga people could endure him no longer. A council was called to devise a way to pacify him and to implore him to cease his evil ways. Haionwatha called the council for he had many times sought to clear the mind of Atotarho and straighten his crooked body. So then the council



was held in the house of Haionwatha. It was decided that half the people should go by boat across the creek where it widens and that others should go by foot along the shore. Atotarho was not in his lodge by the swamp but in a new spot across the wide place in the creek.

The boats started and the people walked. From the bushes that overhung the shore a loud voice sounded. "Stand quickly and look behind you for a storm will overwhelm you."

In dismay the people arose in their canoes and turned about. As they did so the canoes overturned and the men were plunged into the water and many were drowned. A few escaped and then all survivors returned to the village. So had Atotarho frustrated the attempt to meet with him.

Again the people prepared to pacify Atotarho. Three times they agreed to attempt the undertaking. So on the second occasion they went by canoe and by land, those who went by canoe followed the shore and those who went by land walked on the pebbles close to the water's edge.

Again the cunning Atotarho saw them and calling down Akweks he shook him, and the people in a wild rush scrambled for the feathers, for the plumes of Akweks are most beautiful and men are proud when their heads are adorned with them. There was fighting and blows were struck. Evil feelings arose and in anger the people returned to the village. The mission of conciliation was forgotten.

The next day Haionwatha called the people for the third time to deal with Atotarho. A council was held in the lodge of a certain great dreamer. This man said, "I have dreamed that another shall prevail. He shall come from the north and pass to the east. Haionwatha shall meet him there in Kanienkeh and the two together shall prevail. Haionwatha must not remain with us but must go from us to the Kanienkehaka."

There was discussion among the people behind Haionwatha's back and the dreamer's council prevailed. The people decided to employ Osinoh, a famous shaman.

Haionwatha had seven daughters whom he loved and in whom he took great pride. While they lived the conspirators knew he would not depart. With the daughters dead they knew the crushing sorrow would sever every tie that bound him to Onondaga. Then he would be free to leave and try to forget his own sorrow.

Haionwatha could not call the people together for they refused further to listen to his voice. The dreamer's council had prevailed.

At night Osinoh climbed a tree overlooking his lodge and sat on a large limb. Filling his mouth with clay he imitated the sound of a screech owl. Calling the name of the youngest daughter he sang:

Unless you marry Osinoh
You will surely die, whoo-hoo!

Then he came down and went to his own home.

In three days the maiden strangely died. Haionwatha was heartbroken and sat sitting with his head bowed in his hands. He mourned, but none came to comfort him.

In like manner five other daughters passed away and the grief of Haionwatha was extreme.

Clansmen of the daughters then went to the lodge of Haionwatha to watch, for they knew nothing of Osinoh's sorcery. They gathered close against the large trees and in the shadows of bushes. The clansmen suspected some evil treachery and were there to discover it.

There was no moon in the sky when Osinoh came. Cautiously he came from habit but he was not afraid. He drove his staff in the ground, he breathed loud like a magic totem animal snorting and then he climbed the tree. He spat the clay about the tree to imitate the screech owl and as he did he said, "Si-twi, si-twit, si-twit." Then he sang:

Unless you marry Osinoh
You shall surely die, whoo-hoo!

The morning came and Osinoh descended. As he touched the ground a clansman shot an arrow and pierced him. Straight to the ground fell Osinoh and the clansman rushed at him with a

club.

Osinoh looked up. "You are unable to club me," he said. "Your arm has no power at all. It weakens. Today I shall recover from this wound. It is of no purpose to injure me."

It was true indeed. The clansman could not lift the club to kill Osinoh. Then Osinoh arose and went home and in three days the daughter died. So perished all by the evil magic arts of Osinoh.

The grief of Haionwatha was terrible. He threw himself about as if tortured and yielding to the pain. No one came near him so awful was his sorrow. Nothing would console him and his mind was shadowed with the thoughts of his heavy sorrow.

"I shall cast myself away, I shall bury myself in the forest, I shall become a woodland wanderer," he said. Thus he expressed his desire to depart. Then it was known that he would go to another nation.

Haionwatha "split the heavens" when he departed and his skies were torn in two. Toward the south he went and at night he camped on the mountain. This was the first day of his journey. On the second day he descended and camped at the base of the hill. On the third day he journeyed onward and when evening came he camped in a hickory grove. This he named Oneanokhareskeh. In the morning he came to a place where round jointed rushes grew. He paused as he saw them and made three strings of them and when he had built a fire he said, "This would I do if I found anyone burdened with grief even as I am. I would console them for they would be covered with night and wrapped in darkness. This would I lift with words of condolence and these strands of beads would become words with which I would address them."

So at this place he stayed that night and he called the spot Ohontokonwa, meaning Rush-land.

When daylight came he wandered on again and altering the course of his journey turned to the east. At night he came to a group of small lakes and upon one he saw a flock of ducks. So many were there and so closely together did they swim that they seemed like a raft.

"If I am to be truly roianeh (noble)," he said aloud to himself, "I shall here discover my power." So then he spoke aloud and said: "Oh you who are like a raft! Lift up the water and permit me to pass over the dry bottom of the lake!"

In a compact body the ducks flew upward suddenly and swiftly, lifting the water with them. Thus did he walk down the shore and upon the bottom of the lake. There he noticed lying in layers the empty shells of the water snail, some shells white, and others purple. Stooping down he filled a pouch of deer skin with them, and then passed on to the other shore. Then did the ducks descend and replace the water.

It was here that Haionwatha desired for the first time to eat. He then killed three ducks and roasted them. This was the evening of the fifth day.

In the morning he ate the cold meat of the roasted ducks and resumed his journey. This was the sixth day and on that day he hunted for small game and slept.

On the morning of the seventh day he ate again and turned his way to the south. Late in the evening he came to a clearing and found a bark field hut. There he found a shelter and there he erected two poles, placed another across the tops and suspended three shell strings. Looking at them he said, "Men boast what they would do in extremity but they do not do what they say. If I should see anyone in deep grief I would remove these shell strings from the pole and console them. The strings would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Moreover what I say I would surely do." This he repeated.

A little girl discovered smoke arising from the field lodge and she crept up and listened. She advanced and peered through a crack in the bark. Then she ran homeward and told her father of the strange man.

"The stranger must be Haionwatha," said the father, "I have heard that he has departed from Onondaga. Return, my daughter, and invite him to our house."

The girl-child obeyed and Haionwatha went to her house. "We are about to hold a council," the father said. "Sit in that place on one side of the fire and I will acquaint you with our discussion." Before darkness every evening the council dissolved and at no time was Haionwatha called upon for advice nor was anything officially reported to him.

On the tenth day of his journey during the debate in the council Haionwatha quietly left and resumed his wandering. Nothing had been asked of him and he felt himself not needed by the people. Late in the evening he came to the edge of another settlement and as was his custom he kindled a fire and erected a horizontal pole on two upright poles. On this he placed three strings of the wampum shells. Then he sat down and repeated his saying: "Men boast what they would do in extremity but they do

not do what they promise. If I should see any one in deep grief I would remove these shells from this pole and console him. The shells would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered. Moreover, I truly would do as I say." This he repeated.

The chief man of the village saw the smoke at the edge of the forest and sent a messenger to discover who the stranger might be. Now when the messenger reached the spot he saw a man seated before a fire and a horizontal pole from which three strings of small shells were suspended. He also heard the words spoken as the stranger looked at the strings. So then when he had seen all he returned and reported what he had seen and heard.

Then said the chief man, "The person whom you described must truly be Haionwatha whom we have heard left his home at Onondaga. It is he who shall meet the great man foretold by the dreamer. We have heard that this man should work with the man who talks of the establishment of peace."

So then the chiefs sent a messenger to say, "Our principal chief sent me to greet you. Now then I wish you would come into our village with me.".

Haionwatha heard the messenger and gathered up his goods and went into the village and then he had entered the chief's house the chief said, "Seat yourself on the opposite side of the fire so that you may have an understanding of all that we do here in this place."

Then Haionwatha sat there for seven days and the chiefs and people talked without arriving at any decision. No report was made officially to him. So he did not hear what they talked about.

On the eighteenth night a runner came from the south. He was from the nation residing on the seashore. He told the chiefs of the eminent man who had now come to the town on the Mohawk River at the lower falls. Then the messenger said, "We have heard of the dream from Onondaga which told of the great man who came from the north. Now another great man who shall now go forward in haste to meet him shall change his course and go

eastward to meet in the village of the Kanienkehaka, the great man. There shall the two meet in council together and establish the Great Peace." So said the messenger from the salt water seashore, who came to tell Haionwatha to journey east.

So the chiefs of the town where Haionwatha was staying chose five men as an escort for him. They must go with Haionwatha until he reached the house where Tekanawita was present. So then on the next day the chief himself went with the party and watched carefully the health of Haionwatha. The journey lasted five days,on the fifth day the party stopped on the outskirts of the town where Tekanawita was staying and then they built a fire. This was the custom, to make a smoke so that the town might know that visitors were approaching and send word that they might enter without danger to their lives. The smoke was the signal of friends approaching. The Kanienkehaka knew the meaning of the signal so they sent messengers and invited the party into the village.

When Haionwatha had entered the house where the people had gathered the chief asked him whom he would like to see most. Then Haionwatha answered, "I came to see a very great man who lately came from the north." The chief said, "I have with you two men who shall escort you to the house where Tekanawita is present." Then the people went out and the two men escorted Haionwatha to Tekanawita. This was on the twenty-third day. Then Tekanawita arose when Haionwatha had entered and he said: "My younger brother I perceive that you have suffered from some deep grief. You are a chief among your people and yet you are wandering about."

Haionwatha answered, "That person skilled in sorcery, Osinoh, has destroyed my family of seven daughters. It was truly a great calamity and I am now very miserable. My sorrow and my rage have been bitter. I can only rove about since now I have cast myself away from my people. I am only a wanderer. I split the heavens when I went away from my house and my nation."

Tekanawita replied, "Dwell here with me. I will represent your sorrow to the people here dwelling."

(AN)

So Haionwatha had found someone who considered his distress and he did stay. Then Tekanawita told of his suffering and the people listened.

The five escorts were then dismissed and Haionwatha gave thanks to them and told them to return to their own region again. Then the escorts said, "Now today it has happened as was foretold in a dream. The two are now together. Let them now arrange the Great Peace." Then they returned home.

When Tekanawita laid the trouble before the council he promised to let Haionwatha know their decision. The chief deliberated over the sad events and then decided to do as Tekanawita should say. This then should remedy the trouble. Then Tekanawita went to his lodge and as he came to it he heard Haionwatha say, "It is useless, for the people only boast what they will do, saying 'I would do this', but they do nothing at all. If what has befallen me should happen to them I would take down the three shell strings from the upright pole and I would address them and I would console them because they would be covered by heavy darkness." Tekanawita stood outside the door and heard all these words. So then Tekanawita went forward into the house and he went up the pole. Then he said, "My younger brother, it has now become very plain to my eyes that your sorrow must be removed. Your grief and your rage have been great. I shall now undertake to remove your sorrow so that your mind may be rested. Have you no more shell strings on your pole?"

Haionwatha replied, "I have no more strings but I have many shells in a tanned deer's skin." So he opened his bundle and a great quantity of shells fell out. So then Tekanawita said, "My younger brother, I shall string eight more strands because there must be eight parts to my address to you." So then Haionwatha permitted the stringing of the shells and Tekanawita made the strings so that in all there were thirteen strings and bound them in four bunches. These must be used to console the one who has lost by death a near relative. "My younger brother, the thirteen strings are now ready on this horizontal pole. I shall use them. I shall address you. This is all that is necessary in your case."

(AN)

So then he took one bunch off the pole and held it in his hand while he talked. While he talked one after another he took them down and gave one to Haionwatha after each part of his address.

The words that he spoke when he addressed Haionwatha were eight of the thirteen condolences.

When the eight ceremonial addresses had been made by Tekanawita the mind of Haionwatha was made clear. He was then satisfied and once more saw things rightly.

Tekanawita then said, "My younger brother, these thirteen strings of shell are now completed. In the future they shall be used in this way. They shall be held in the hand to remind the speaker of each part of his address, and as each part is finished a string shall be given to the bereaved chief (Roianer) on the other side of the fire. Then shall the Roianer hand them back one by one as he addresses a reply; it then can be said, 'I have now become even with you.'"

Tekanawita then said, "My junior brother, your mind being cleared and you being competent to judge, we now shall make our laws and when all are made we shall call the organization we have formed the Great Peace. It shall be the power to abolish war and robbery between brothers and bring peace and quietness."

"As emblems of our Roianer titles we shall wear deer antlers and place them on the heads of Roianer men."

Haionwatha then said, "What you have said is good, I do agree."

Tekanawita said, "My younger brother, since you have agreed I now propose that we compose our Peace song. We shall use it on our journey to pacify Atotarho. When he hears it his mind shall be made straight. His mind shall be like that of other men. This will be true if the singer remembers and makes no error in his singing from the beginning to the end, as he walks before Atotarho."

Haionwatha said, "I do agree, I truly believe the truth of what you say."

Then Tekanawita said, "My younger brother, we shall now propose to the council of the Kanienkehaka the plan we have

made. We shall tell our plan for a confederation and the building of a house of peace. It will be necessary for us to know its opinion and have its consent to proceed."

The plan was talked about in the council and Tekanawita spoke of establishing a union of all the nations. He told them that all the chiefs must be virtuous men and be very patient. These should wear deer horns as emblems of their position, because as he told them their strength came from the meat of the deer. Then Haionwatha confirmed all that Tekanawita had said.

Then the speaker of the council said, "You two, Tekanawita and Haionwatha, shall send messengers to the Oneida and they shall ask Otatsheteh if he will consider the plan."

When Otatsheteh had been asked he replied, "I will consider this plan and answer you."

When a year had passed, there came the answer of the Oneida council, "We will join the Confederacy."

So then the Kanienkehaka sent two messengers to Onondaga asking that the nation consider the proposals of Tekanawita. It was a midsummer day when the message went forth and the Onondaga council answered, "Return next year at high sun." So the two great men returned home and waited until the next midsummer. Then the midday came and the Onondaga council sent messengers who said, "We have decided that it would be a good plan to build the fire and set about it with you." Tekanawita and Haionwatha heard this answer.

So then at the same time Tekanawita and Haionwatha sent messengers to the Cayuga Nation and the answer was sent back. The Cayugas said they would send word of their decision. When a year had passed the Cayugas sent their answer and they said, "We do agree with Tekanawita and Haionwatha."

Now the Senecas were divided and were not agreed because there had been trouble between their war chiefs. Messengers were sent to them but the Senecas could not agree to listen and requested the messengers to return the next year. So when the messengers returned the councils did listen and considered the proposals. After a year had passed they sent messengers to say

that they had agreed to enter into the Confederacy.

Then Tekanawita said, "I now will report to the Mohawk council the result of my work of five years." Haionwatha then said, "I do agree to the report."

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREAT PEACE

Tekanawita requested some of the Mohawk chiefs to call a council, so messengers were sent out among the people and the council was convened.

Tekanawita said, "I, with my co-worker, have a desire to now report what we have done on five successive midsummer days, of five successive years. We have obtained the consent of five nations. These are the Kanienkehaka, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas. Our desire is to form a compact for a union of our nations. Our next step is to seek out Atotarho. It is he who has always set at naught all plans for the establishment of the Great Peace. We must seek his fire and look for his smoke."

The chief speaker of the council then said, "We do agree and confirm all you have said and we wish to appoint two spies who shall volunteer to seek out the smoke of Atotarho."

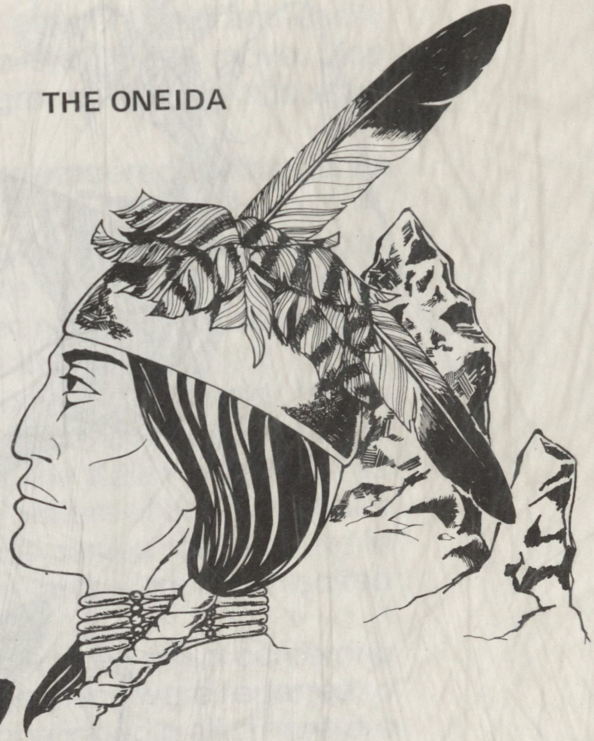
Two men then eagerly volunteered and Tekanawita asked them if they were able to transform themselves into birds or animals, for such must be the ability of the messengers who approached Atotarho. The two men replied, "We are able to transform ourselves into herons and cranes."

"Then you will not do for you will pause at the first creek or swamp and look for frogs and fish."

Two men then said, "We have magic that will transform us into humming birds. They fly very swiftly."

"Then you will not do because you are always hungry and are looking for flowers."

THE ONONDAGA



THE ONEIDA

THE MOHAWK

THE SENECA

THE CAYUGA

Two other men then said, "We can become the Dare, the white crane."

"Then you will not do because you are very wild and easily frightened. You would be afraid when the clouds move. You would become hungry and fly to the ground looking about for ground nuts."

Two men who were crows by magic volunteered but they were full of mischief.

So then in the end two men who were powerful by the magic of the deer and the bear stepped before the council and were chosen. The speaker for the council then reported to Tekanawita that the spies were ready to go. Then they went.

Now Tekanawita addressed the council and said, "I am Tekanawita and with me is my younger brother. We two now lay before you the laws by which to frame the Kaienerakowa. The emblems of the chief rulers shall be the antlers of deer. The titles shall be vested in certain women and the names shall be held in their maternal families forever." All the laws were then recited and Haionwatha confirmed them.

Tekanawita then sang the song to be used when conferring titles. So in this way all the work and the plans were reported to the Mohawk council and Haionwatha confirmed it all. Therefore the council adopted the plan.

When the spies returned the speaker of the council said, "Skhanonton, our ears are erected." Then the spies spoke and they said, "At great danger to ourselves we have seen Atotarho. We have returned and tell you that the body of Atotarho has seven parts, his hair is infested with snakes and he is a cannibal."

The council heard the message and decided to go to Onondaga at midsummer.

Then Tekanawita taught the people the Hymn of Peace and the other songs. He stood before the door of the longhouse and walked before it singing the new songs. Many came and learned them so that many were strong by the magic of them when it was time to carry the Great Peace to Onondaga.

When the time had come, Tekanawita summoned the chiefs

and people together and chose one man to sing the songs before Atotarho. Soon then this singer led the company through the forest and preceded all, singing the Peace songs as he walked. Many old villages and camping places were passed as they went. Now the party passed through these places:

Old Clearing
Overgrown with Bushes
A Temporary Place
Protruding Rocks
Between Two Places
Parties Opposite at the Council Fire
In the Valley
Drooping Wing
On the Hillside
Man Standing
I Have Covered It
Lake Bridge
Between Two Side Hills
Lake Outlet
At the Forks
Long Hill
Broken Branches Lying
The Spring
White
Corn Stalks on Both Sides
Two Hillsides
The Old Beast

All these places were in Kanienkeh.

Now they entered the Oneida country and the great chief Otatsheteh with his chiefs met them. Then all of them marched onward to Onondaga, the singer of the Peace Hymn going on ahead.

The frontier of the Onondaga country was reached and the expedition halted to kindle a fire, as was customary. Then the

chiefs of the Onondagas with their headman welcomed them and a great throng marched to the fireside of Atotarho, the singer of the Peace Hymn leading the multitude.

The lodge of Atotarho was reached and a new singer was appointed to sing the Peace Hymn. So he walked before the door of the house singing to cure the mind of Atotarho. He knew that if he made a single error or hesitated his power would be weakened and the crooked body of Atotarho remain misshapen. Then he hesitated and made an error. So another singer was appointed and he too made an error by hesitating.

Then Tekanawita himself sang and walked before the door of Atotarho's house. When he finished his song he walked toward Atotarho and held out his hand to rub it on his body to give to Atotarho its inherent strength and life. Then Atotarho was made straight and his mind became healthy.

When Atotarho was made strong in rightful powers and his body had been healed, Tekanawita addressed the three nations. He said, "We have now overcome a great obstacle. It has long stood in the way of peace. The mind of Atotarho is now made right and his crooked parts are made straight. Now indeed may we establish the Great Peace.

"Before we do firmly establish our union each nation must appoint a certain number of its wisest and purest men who shall be rulers, Rotiianer. They shall be the advisers of the people and make the new rules that may be needful. These men shall be selected and confirmed by their female relations in whose lines the titles shall be hereditary. When these are named they shall be crowned, emblematically, with deer antlers."

So then the women of the Kanienkehaka brought forward nine chiefs who should become Rotiianer and one man, Aienwaers, as war chief.

So then the women of the Oneidas brought forward nine chiefs who should become Rotiianer, and one man, Kahonwatiron, who should be war chief.

So then the Onondaga women brought forward fourteen chiefs who should become Rotiianer, and one man, Aienwaers, as war

chief.

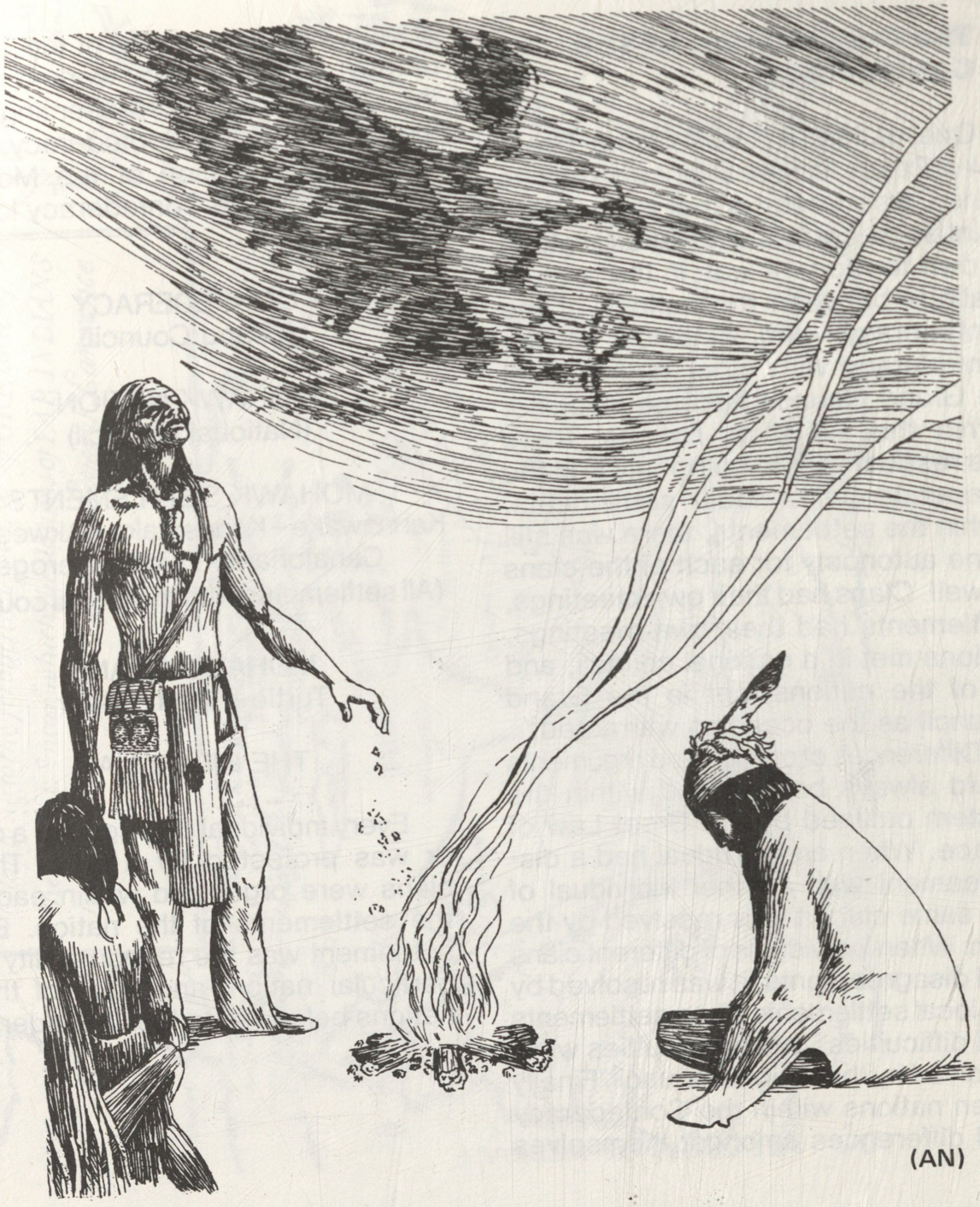
Each chief then delivered to Tekanawita a string of lake shell wampum a span in length as a pledge of truth.

Tekanawita then said: "Now, today in the presence of this great multitude I disrobe you and are not now covered by your old names. I now give you names much greater." Then calling each chief to him he said, "I now place antlers on your head as an emblem of your power. Your old garments are torn off and better robes are given you. Now you are Roianer, each of you. You will receive many scratches and the thickness of your skins shall be seven spans. You must be patient and henceforth work in unity. Never consider your own interests but work to benefit the people and for the generations not yet born. You have pledged to govern yourselves by the laws of the Great Peace. All your authority shall come from it.

"I do now order that Skanawate shall in one-half of his being be a Roianer of the Great Peace, and in his other half a war chief, for the Rotiianer must have an ear to hear and a hand to feel the coming of wars."

Then did Tekanawita repeat all the rules which he with Haionwatha had devised for the establishment of the Great Peace.

Then in the councils of all the Five Nations he repeated them and the Confederacy was established. [1]



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3. The Organization Of The Confederacy

One of the features of the Great Law of Peace and the alliance of nations in the Confederacy is that each nation maintained control over affairs within its own territory. It was in the area of dealings between the nations of the Confederacy, and dealings of the Confederacy with other nations that the Grand Council became involved. Within the individual nations, there was respect for the autonomy and the independence of local settlements. Within the settlements, there was still some autonomy for each of the clans as well. Clans had their own meetings, settlements had their own meetings, nations met in a national council, and all of the nations met in the Grand Council as the occasion warranted.

Differences of opinion and arguments could always be resolved within the system outlined by the Great Law of Peace. When an individual had a disagreement with another individual of the same clan, it was resolved by the clan. When individuals of different clans had disagreements, it was resolved by the local settlement. When settlements had difficulties, these difficulties were resolved by the national council. Finally when nations within the Confederacy had differences amongst themselves or with a nation outside of the Confederacy, solutions were worked out by the Grand Council representing all of the nations of the Confederacy.

The organization of the Mohawk Nation within the Confederacy looked like this:

CONFEDERACY
(Grand Council)

MOHAWK NATION
(National Council)

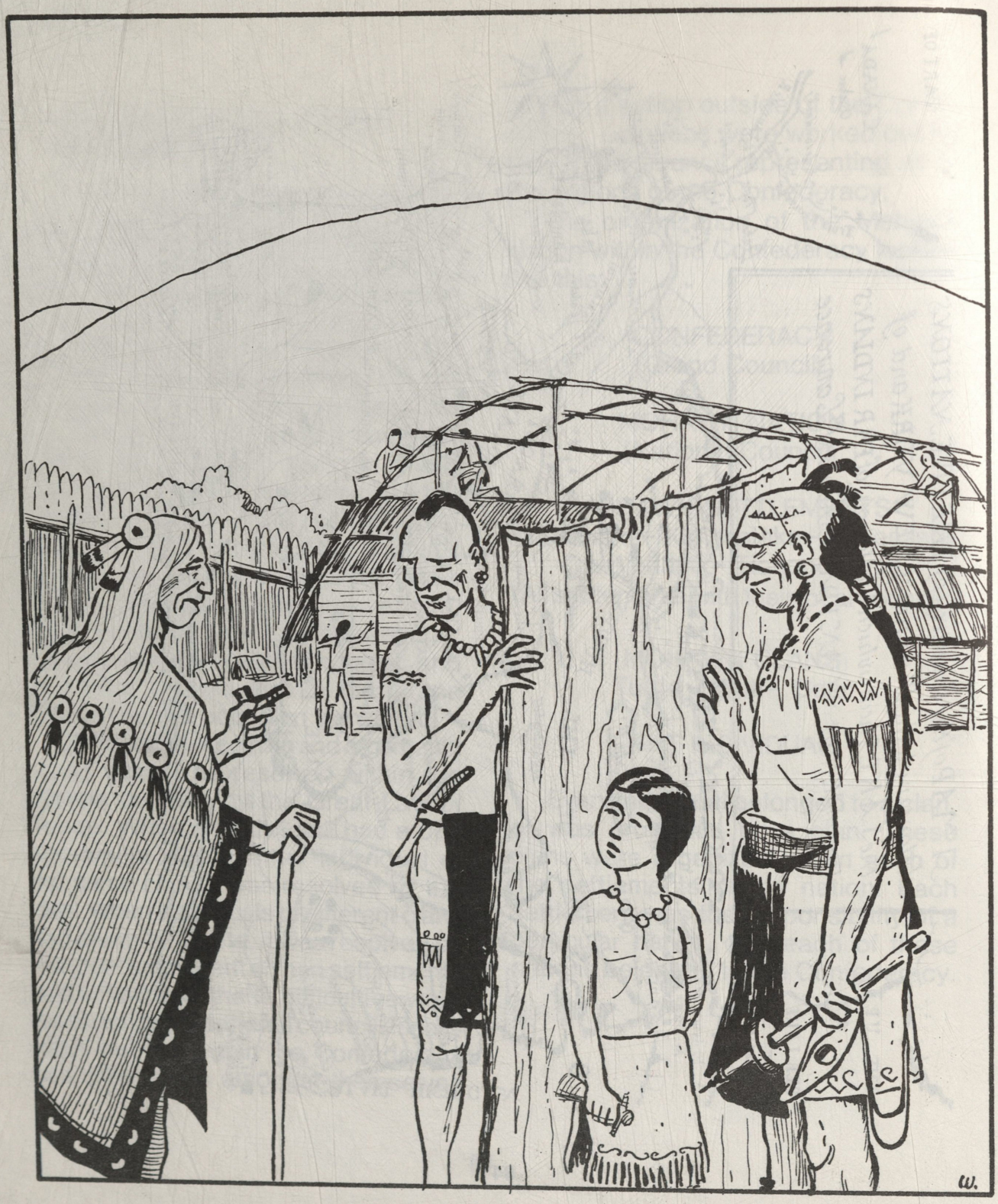
MOHAWK SETTLEMENTS
Kahnawake – Kanesatake – Akwesasne
Canajoharie – Tiononderoge
(All settlements with their local councils)

MOHAWK CLANS
Turtle – Wolf – Bear

THE INDIVIDUAL

Every individual belonged to a clan, or was protected by a clan. These clans were organized within each of the settlements of the nation. Each settlement was the responsibility of a particular nation, and each of these nations belonged to the Confederacy.

A MAP of the Countrey of THE FIVE NATIONS
belonging to the Province of NEW YORK and of
the LAKES near which the Nations of FAR INDIANS
live with part of CANADA & River St Lawrence
PART OF
CANADA
Quebec
THE UP
PER LAKE
Trois Rivieres
Adirondacks
St Laurence R.
Lake St Pierre
Sorel
Nepicirinieens
Ottawa R.
Ochsaghies
Pionondaries
Ottawaes or
Necarages
Michilimakinac
Manitoualin I.
LAKE OF THE HURONS
or Quatoghies
Lake St Francis
Praying Indians
Chambly
Catararui R.
Fort Cataraqui
Galates
lake
Champlain
or Corlaers
Gondiroga
CATARAQUI
OR ONTARIO LAKE
The Country
Conquerd by
the FIVE
NATIONS
Bay of
Saguinam
High Plain 70 Leagues Long
Margeaie
Great River
Margueg
Black R.
Poutewatomes
Ottawaghies
Stiosqui
Carr Place
Huskiki R.
Enclaghies
Gomathion
Mitavaes
Detroit or
Tuiackronde
Lake St Clair
Cohaquenagae
ONIagara
Carr. place
SENECAS
CAYUGAS
ONONDAGUES
ONEIDOS
MOHAWKS
Kashibogue
Falls
Cataraqui
Iroudequat
Cataraqui place
Palatines
Mohawk R.
Albany
Cataraqui to
Canada
Connecticut
The Country of the FIVE NATIONS
LAKE ERIE OR OKSWEGO
Carr Place
Carrying Place
Erie
Canahogue
Carr. Place
Hudsons R.
Long Island
New York
Delaware R.
PENSYLVA
NIA
MARYLAND
JERSEY
The Miamis or
Twightwis
Ouabache R.
Orgiehs
Branches of the Misisipi
Ohio R.
Appalachy Mountains
LAKE MICHIGAN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Chapter 6
Hochelaga & The First Algonquin War

Information on the way of life of the Kanienkehaka and the events that characterized their history between the years of the founding of the Confederacy and the arrival of the Europeans in North America is available from two sources: the oral history of native people and the research of archeologists who have studied Iroquoia.

The Kanienkehaka occupied more than 9 million acres of territory during these years. The main areas of settlement were along the St. Lawrence River in the North and the Mohawk River in the South. Along the St. Lawrence River, the two principle Mohawk settlements were Hochelaga (now, Montreal Island) and Stadacona (now, Quebec City). Smaller Mohawk settlements existed along the St. Lawrence. Traces of settlements have been found at the junction of the Raquette River and the St. Lawrence River, and at the east end of the Long Sault.

This chapter looks at:
1. Hochelaga
2. The First Algonquin War

1. Hochelaga

Of all the northern Mohawk settlements, Hochelaga was undoubtedly the largest. It had approximately 3500 residents. Like most Mohawk settlements, Hochelaga was located near a large body of water. It was set off from the shore by a distance of two leagues. From the river shoreline to the village was a well trodden path that wound its way through a forest of oak trees.

The village was located close to the base of Mount Royal, in the middle of large fields of corn. At one point the fields sloped up the sides of the mountain. The fields were separated by ridges of uncultivated land. In all probability there were about 3000 acres under cultivation.

How were these figures arrived at? It is known today that the village itself covered about seven acres. It contained about fifty houses, fifty paces long and fifteen paces wide. One longhouse usually contained eight to ten families, and sixty to eighty persons. From these figures is calculated a population of about 3500. Studies of traditional Mohawk agriculture indicate that it took a little under one acre of land to feed one person during these

years. From this is calculated the amount of land needed under cultivation.

The village itself was surrounded by a palisade thirty three feet high. The village was laid out in a circular plan and the wall had only one major gate. This gate, which could be barred, had two towers next to it where warriors could maintain a good defensive position. Ladders leading up to these towers were made from notched logs. In addition to this tall palisade were two other protective fences for greater defense. The defensive towers were well supplied with rocks for hurling at attackers and with water to drown out fires started by attackers.

The Hochelaga Longhouses Were Like Those Of Early Day Kahnawake. In the center of Hochelaga was a square where public meetings and major festivals were held. The fifty longhouses were made in the traditional Mohawk style, built of log poles and covered with thick slabs of bark. They were very much like the longhouses built in Kahnawake and described by a Jesuit priest, Fr. Joseph Lafitau, in his book Customs of the American Indians:

> These lodges are also in the form of a vault or arbour. They are thirty or thirty-six feet wide, high in proportion and along according to the number of the fires. Each fire has twenty or twenty-five more feet in length than those with only one (fire), none ever exceeding thirty or forty for each fire. These posts are the base and support of the entire structure. Poles are planted all around, that is to say all along the two sides and on the two gable ends, to hold the sheets of elm bark which form the walls and are bound to them with strips made of the inner bast or second bark of white basswood. The square frame being raised, the Iroquois make the roof framing with long poles bent in an arc which they cover also with bark sheets six feet long and from one foot to fifteen slates. They are secured outside with new poles like those which form the arch inside and strengthened again by long pieces of split saplings which run the entire length of the lodge from end to end and are fastened at the ends of the roof on the sides, or on the wings, by pieces of wood cut with crooked ends which are spaced at regular intervals for this purpose.
>
> The bark sheets are prepared a long time before use. The trees are stripped, after girdling, when the sap is running because that is the best time to peel them. After the outer surface which is too rough is taken off, the sheets are piled compactly on top of each other so that they do not get badly warped and are allowed to dry in this way. The poles and wood necessary for the construction of the building are prepared in the same way. When the time has come to commence work, the youth of the village are invited and, to encourage them, a feast is given. In less than one or two days, all the work is under way and is being accomplished rather by the number of hands working at it than by the workers' diligence.

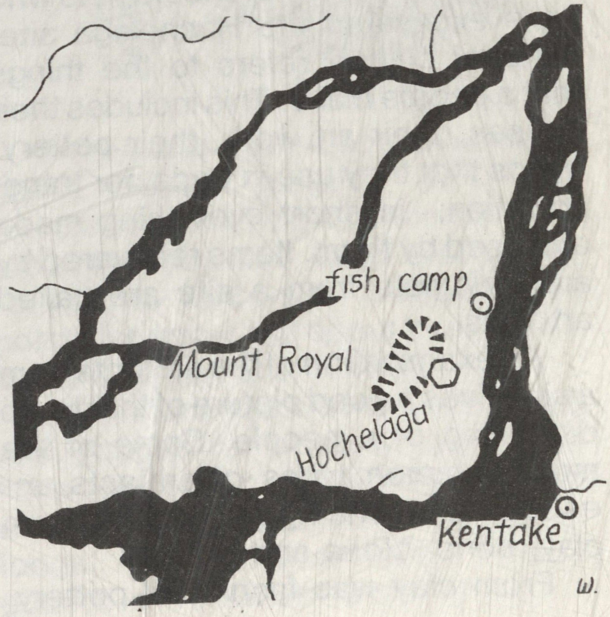
After the body of the building is finished, those interested in it then work, at their leisure, to decorate it inside and make in it the necessary compartments suitable for their habitual uses and needs. The open space in the middle is always the fireplace from which the rising smoke escapes through an opening cut in the top of the lodge directly above, which serves also to admit daylight. These buildings, having no windows at all, are lighted only from above. This opening is closed by one or two movable bark sheets drawn together or back, as is judged suitable, at the times of the heavy rains or certain winds which would cause the smoke to back draught into the lodges and make them very uncomfortable.

Along the fires on each side a platform extends twelve to thirteen feet long by five or six feet deep and almost as high. These platforms, shut in on all sides, except that of the fire, serve them as beds (to sleep on) and benches to sit on. Reed mats and fur pelts to cover the bark which forms the floor of the berths. On this bed, scarcely suited to encourage softness or laziness, the Indians, wrapped in the same clothing which they wore during the day, stretch out without other preparation. For the most part they do not know what it is to use a pillow.

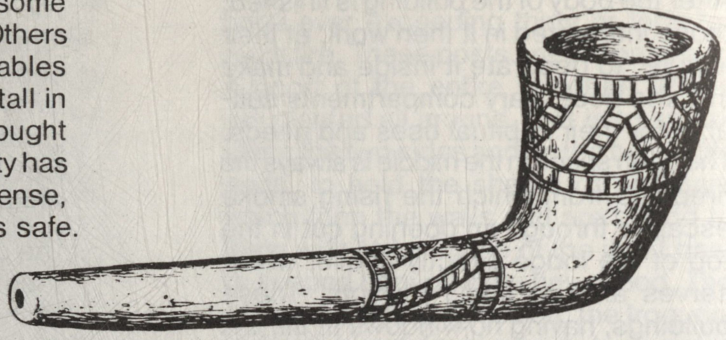
The bottom of the platform on which they lie is at most one foot above the earth. They elevate it this much to avoid dampness. They do not make it any higher because they want to avoid the smoke which is unendurable in the houses when one is standing erect, or is raised a little to high.

The sheets of bark which cover the platforms above and make the ceiling of the bed, take the place of wardrobe and larder. Between the berths are placed great bark casks in tun shape, five to six feet high, where they put their maize when it is shelled...

The doors of the lodges are of movable sheets of bark hung from above, with neither key nor lock. In the past, nothing was closed in Indian houses. When they were gone a long time on a campaign, they contented themselves with fastening their doors with wooden bars to protect them from the village dogs. During all the centuries before our arrival, they lived in great security and without much distrust of each other. The most suspicious took their most precious possessions to their friends' homes or buried them in holes made for the purpose under their beds or in some part of their lodge where no



one knew they were hidden. Now some of them have trunks or little boxes. Others strenghten their lodges at the gables with grossly made planks and install in them wooden doors with bolts bought from the Europeans whose proximity has taught them, often at their own expense, that their property was not always safe.



They double their doors to protect themselves from cold and smoke and make a sort of second door of blankets or skin or wool.
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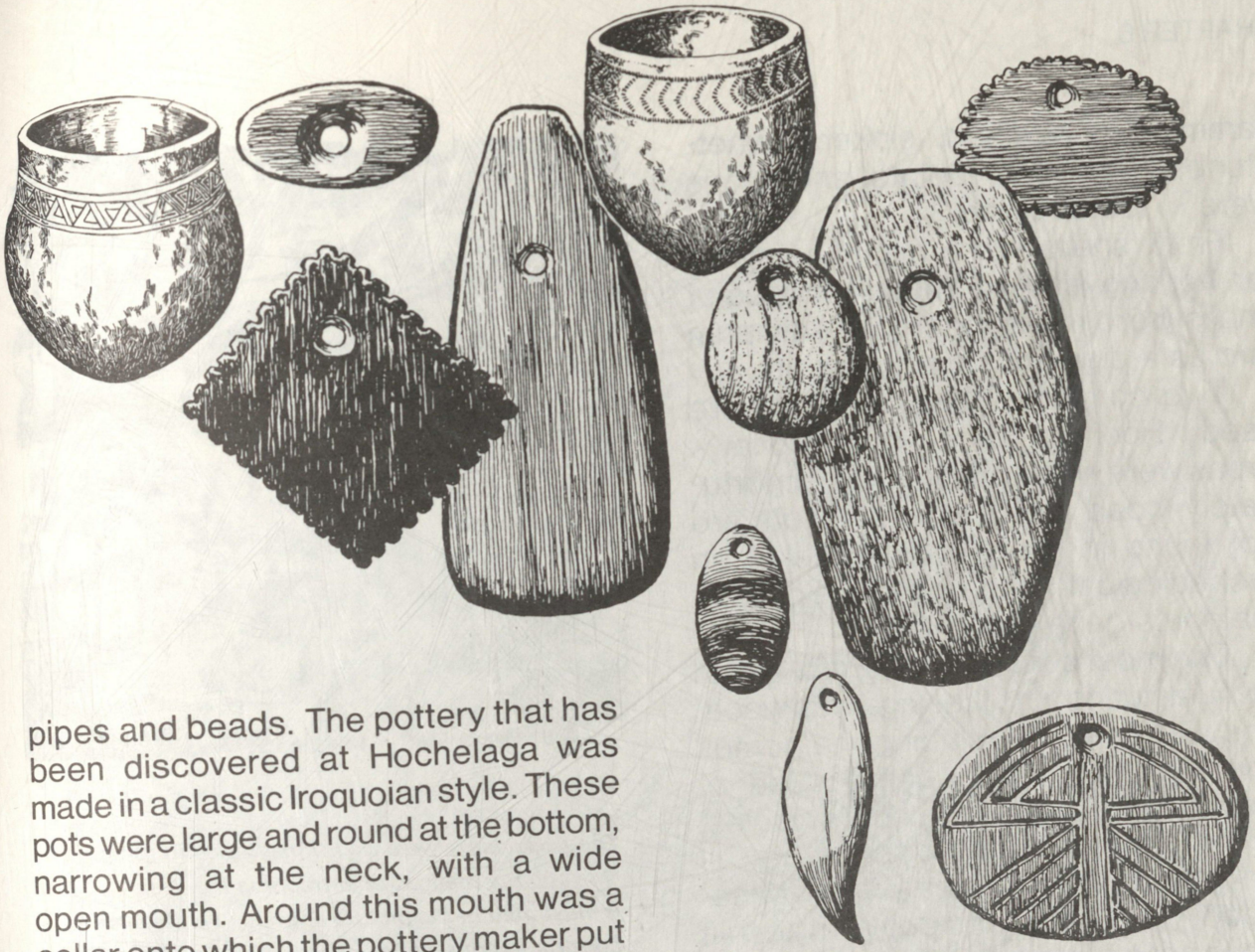
Archeological Artifacts Give An Idea Of Material Culture. Information on the material culture of the people of Hochelaga is available through the work of archeologists who have excavated the Hochelaga site. Material culture refers to the things that a people make. This includes their houses, their art work, their pottery, things that they use in trade, for transportation; in short everything made and used by them. Items recovered by archeologists from a site are called artifacts.

An examination of the artifacts from a site gives a good picture of the day to day living of a people. Some of the most common types of artifacts unearthed at Hochelaga were made from clay, bone, stone and shell.

From clay was fashioned pottery,



pipes and beads. The pottery that has been discovered at Hochelaga was made in a classic Iroquoian style. These pots were large and round at the bottom, narrowing at the neck, with a wide open mouth. Around this mouth was a collar onto which the pottery maker put what is technically called an incised design. These designs were many and varied. A few examples are shown in the illustrations. The clay pipes were decorated with incised designs such as the ones on the pottery. Others were decorated with the small figures of animals. These effigy pipes were somewhat like the ones used by the mound builders. The clay beads made in Hochelaga were fashioned by hand, decorated, and then strung through a hole drilled in the center of the bead. The beads were used for decoration and as weights for fishing.

From bone was made a variety of items. Beads, gorgets, awls, and needles were used in making clothing, ornamentation and other craftswork. Harpoons, fishhooks, scrapers and points for arrow and spear heads were used in fishing and hunting.

From stone was made axes, adzes and gouges for working with wood. Hammers were made from granite and attached to a wooden handle by leather tongs. The craftsman often used a granite anvil when working with a

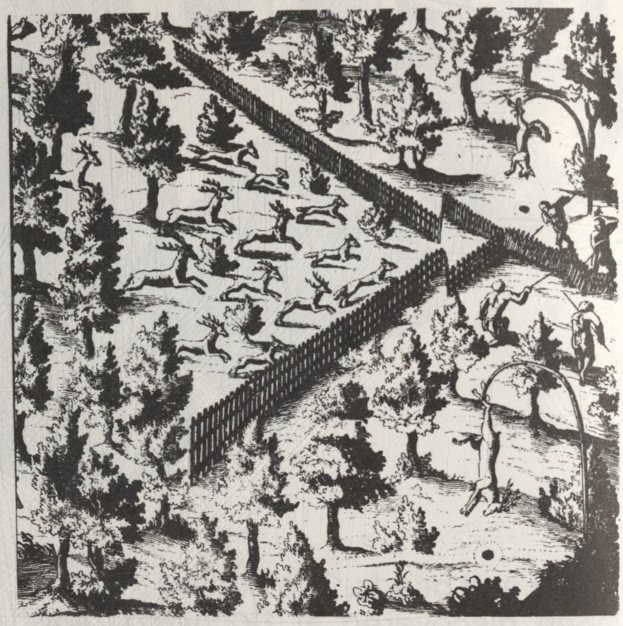
hammer. In addition, sinkers, whetstones, scrapers, points and pipes were made of stone.

From shells were made scrapers for working leather. Important uses of shells were in the making of wampum and as a pigment base for paints.

Two common materials that were used in Hochelaga and in other Mohawk areas were wood and leather. Unfortunately wood and leather artifacts are not found in great abundance at an archeological site because these materials decay very easily.

The most common material used in manufacturing at Hochelaga was wood. The village itself including the homes and defenses were constructed of wood. Weapons of war, bowls, ladles, corn pounders and mortors were all made from softer woods such as basswood, pine, cedar and poplar. The thin inner bark of trees was used to make rope nets and lashings.

Leather was made from treated skins. The favored skins for clothing were from deer and the pelts of small fur bearing animals. Moose and bear skin being tougher, were used for moccasin soles and other sturdy items. The hair of the pelts were either left on the skins for warmth or removed with water and lye to be woven into designs on clothing and other accessories.



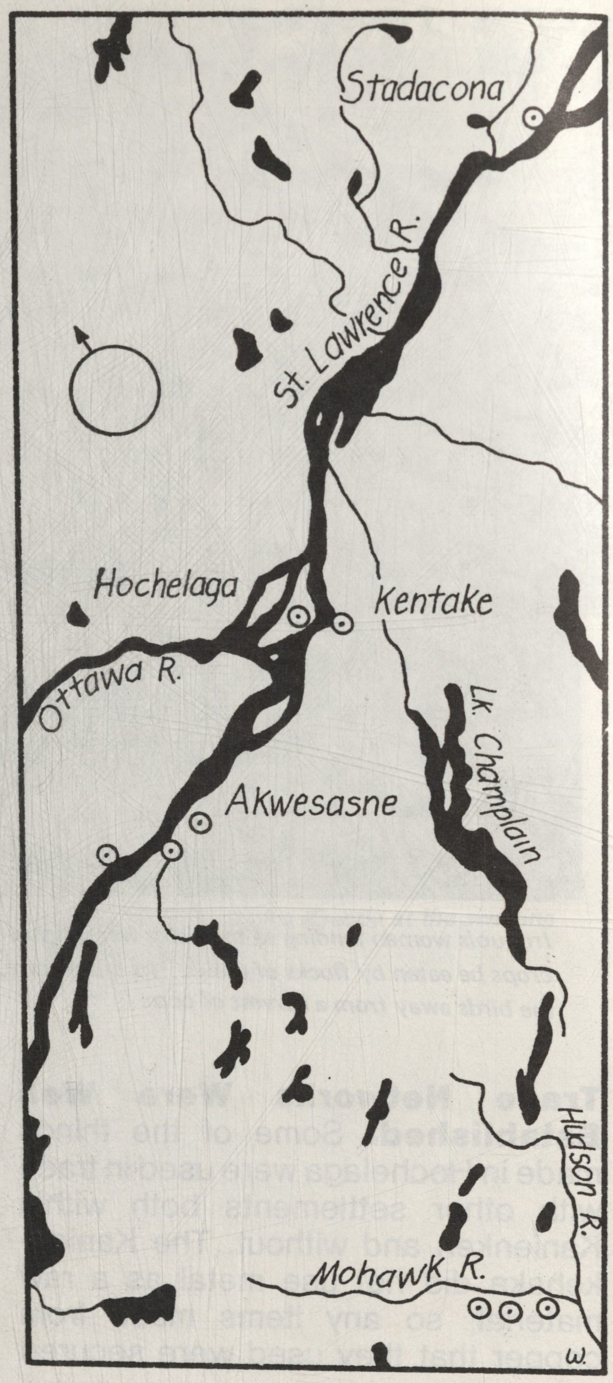
The Adirondaks were traditionally rich in game. One popular method of entrapping the deer, is illustrated in the picture above. Fences were constructed of saplings lashed together. The hunters would go through the forest directing the deer into these fences. As the fences narrowed the deer were channeled directly at the awaiting Mohawk hunters.

Iroquois women tending to the fields were particularly careful not to let their crops be eaten by flocks of crows. In this picture, women are shown scaring the birds away from a harvest of corn.

Trade Networks Were Well Established. Some of the things made in Hochelaga were used in trade with other settlements both within Kanienkeh and without. The Kanienkehaka did not use metal as a raw material, so any items made from copper that they used were secured through trade with the Algonquin nations around Lake Superior. Some of these items, notably copper decorations and axes, were traded to the Hochelagas. Later on, at the time of contact with Europeans, trade items from the French found their way into Hochelaga through Montagnais traders.

Hochelaga was one of the largest settlements of Mohawk people before modern times. It was actually the center of a number of smaller settlements that were in the vicinity of the Island of Montreal. Two of these associated settlements were near the Lachine Rapids and by the St. Mary's Current. These were fishing villages, and were not as well defended as Hochelaga. People in these smaller villages fled to Hochelaga for protection in a time of war.

The northern Kanienkehaka communicated with the southern Kanienkehaka settlements by canoe travel. The route taken to reach the southern communities was via the Richelieu River, Lake Champlain, Lake George, the Hudson River and up the Mohawk River. This journey of 300 miles took about three to four days by water. In the winter and early spring months, when the trip had to be made by sled or snowshoe, the journey took considerably longer.

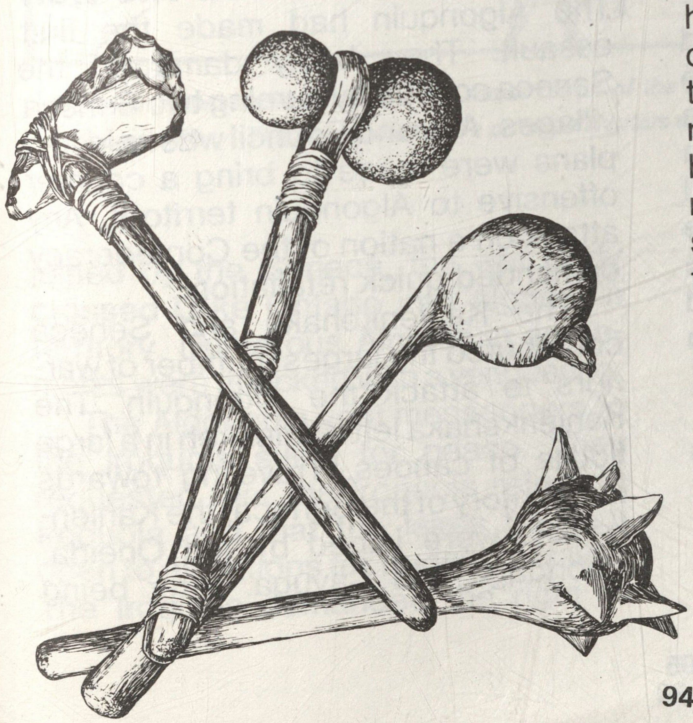


Right. This map shows the locations of the major Mohawk settlements. Kentake and Akwesasne were only settled permanently after the time of contact.

2. The First Algonquin War

Communication with the other nations of the Confederacy was by way of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. The northern Kanienkehaka traveled this route from March until December. It was a dangerous path to follow, because the Algonquin nations on the north shore of the St. Lawrence were hostile to the Five Nations.

In the years before contact with the Europeans, the Five Nations were engaged in a series of struggles with the Algonquin people north of the St. Lawrence and the Mahican people to the southeast of the Mohawk River.



The Kanienkehaka were very involved in these struggles because Kanienkeh bordered the territories of these peoples. The story of these conflicts has been preserved through the oral traditions of the Six Nations people. It was recorded by the Tuscarora John Hewitt at the turn of the century, and is included in Colden's History of the Five Nations.

The need To Control The St. Lawrence And Great Lakes Led To War. The St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes waterways were important paths of communications, defense, and trade. Control of these waterways was essential to the security of the Confederacy, and to the Algonquin and Iroquoian nations along the north shore. If the north shore nations had decided to join in the Great Peace, differences of opinion about the use of these waterways could have been resolved peacefully in council. However, both the Huron and Algonquin peoples rejected the way of the Great Peace, so a state of war developed between them and the Confederacy.

The Algonquins made numerous attacks across the Great Lakes and struck at Seneca and Cayuga settlements. These attacks were without warning, and the Algonquin retreated before the Five Nations could muster enough support to defend or sufficiently launch a counterattack in their own

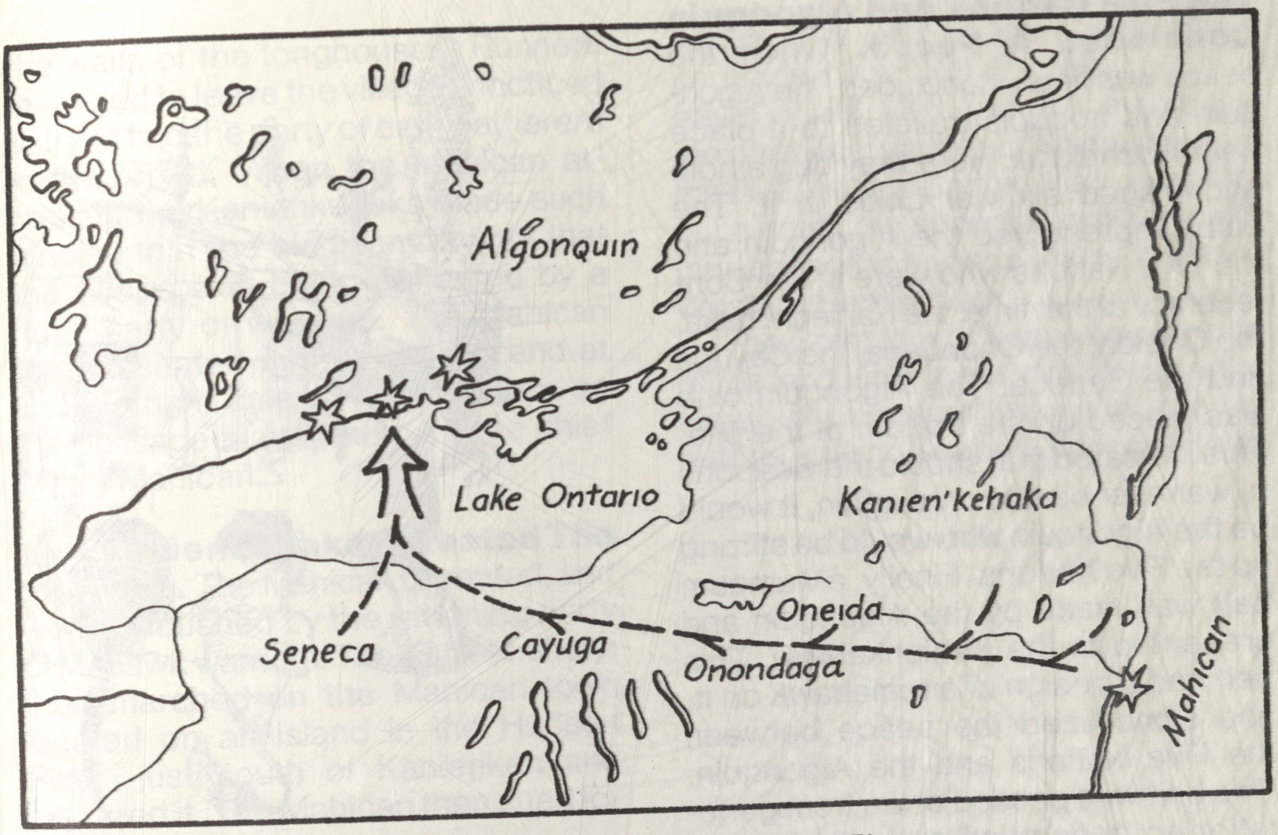
territory. Therefore, an aggressive assault into Algonquin territory became necessary.

Native Warfare Was Different From European Warfare. The manner of warfare in precontact North America was not at all like that practised by Europeans at that time. Native people generally had two notions of warfare, fighting coups and guerrilla warfare. In fighting coups, two nations settled their differences by fighting a symbolic war. There were various ways of fighting a symbolic war. To an outside observer, a symbolic war would probably look more like a sport or game. For example, opposing nations sometimes met at a large field and played a game of lacrosse that lasted for several weeks; or two opposing sides of warriors lined up and attempted to strike their opponents on the rear end. Some nations played a game of "chicken" with arrows, each side shooting near misses to individual opponents until the arrows got so close that one side backed away. Symbolic wars were fought when issues at hand were not serious enough to warrant an all out struggle between nations.

Control of the waterways of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes was a serious enough matter to merit guerilla warfare. Guerilla warfare is not like the total war fought during the First and Second World Wars. It is more like the kind of war fought in Viet Nam. It involves small numbers of men who move quickly to strike an enemy and then retreat quickly into the safety of the natural environment. There are a number of differences between the guerilla warfare fought by Mohawk warriors before European contact and that fought by American and Asian soldiers in Viet Nam. In pre-contact North America the number of warriors involved were very small in comparison to Viet Nam; the native technology of war (weapons and transportation) was much simpler; and it was not very important to native people to kill a great number of the enemy.

The Five Nations Won The War. The Algonquin had made the first assault. They badly damaged the Seneca country by burning two Seneca villages. A Grand Council was held and plans were made to bring a counter offensive to Algonquin territory. Any attack on a nation of the Confederacy demanded quick retaliation.

The Kanienkehaka and Seneca contributed the largest number of warriors to attack the Algonquin. The Kanienkehaka left Kanienkeh in a large flotilla of canoes. Traveling towards the territory of the Seneca, the Kanienkehaka were joined by the Oneida, Onondaga and Cayuga. After being



The map shown above illustrates the major routes of the Iroquois in the First Algonquin War. The stars indicate the principal centers of conflict.

joined by the Seneca, the war party crossed Lake Ontario into Algonquin territory. Numerous Algonquin settlements were attacked with a vengeance.

The Algonquin sent messengers to the Iroquois suing for peace. They requested that the Iroquois return to Iroquoia and that the lakes be kept open to all nations for trade and travel. The Iroquois demanded the right to control the water routes. The Algonquin had no choice but to agree and the St. Lawrence Valley became part of the territory of the Five Nations. Later on at the time of contact, Lake Ontario was called the Lake of the Iroquois, and the St. Lawrence was referred to as the Great River of the Iroquois.

The Five Nations And Algonquin Concluded A Peace. When the peace was finally concluded, the Algonquin and Iroquois traveled to a place near Hochelaga. Here they dug a hole and placed six war clubs in it. The clubs represented the Algonquin and the Five Nations who were in the Confederacy at that time: the Kanienkehaka, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga and the Seneca. The Algonquin club was placed on the bottom of the pile. This indicated that should the weapons of war ever be taken up again, it would be the Algonquin who would be stirring up the Five Nations. Finally, a wampum belt was made by the Algonquin and presented to the Kanienkehaka. This belt had a design of a tomahawk on it, and symbolized the peace between the Five Nations and the Algonquin. This belt was passed down from generation to generation and was kept in Kahnawake until 1929. In 1929 it was stolen from the village by a woman working for a New York Museum. The belt, the oldest in existence is now in the Museum of the American Indian in New York City.

The Mahican Attacked The Kanienkehaka. While many of the Mohawk warriors were engaged with the rest of the Confederacy in the attack upon the Algonquin nations, the Kanienkehaka in the Mohawk Valley were attacked by the Mahican. At the time of the attack, the remaining Mohawk warriors had left the southern villages in order to go out into the woods to gather bark for the construction of canoes. The Mahican decided to attack one of the undefended villages in a surprise attack, but the Kanienkehaka got word and lined up the young boys and old men along the palisade to ward off the Mahican.

The small children and women were then given war clubs to bang against

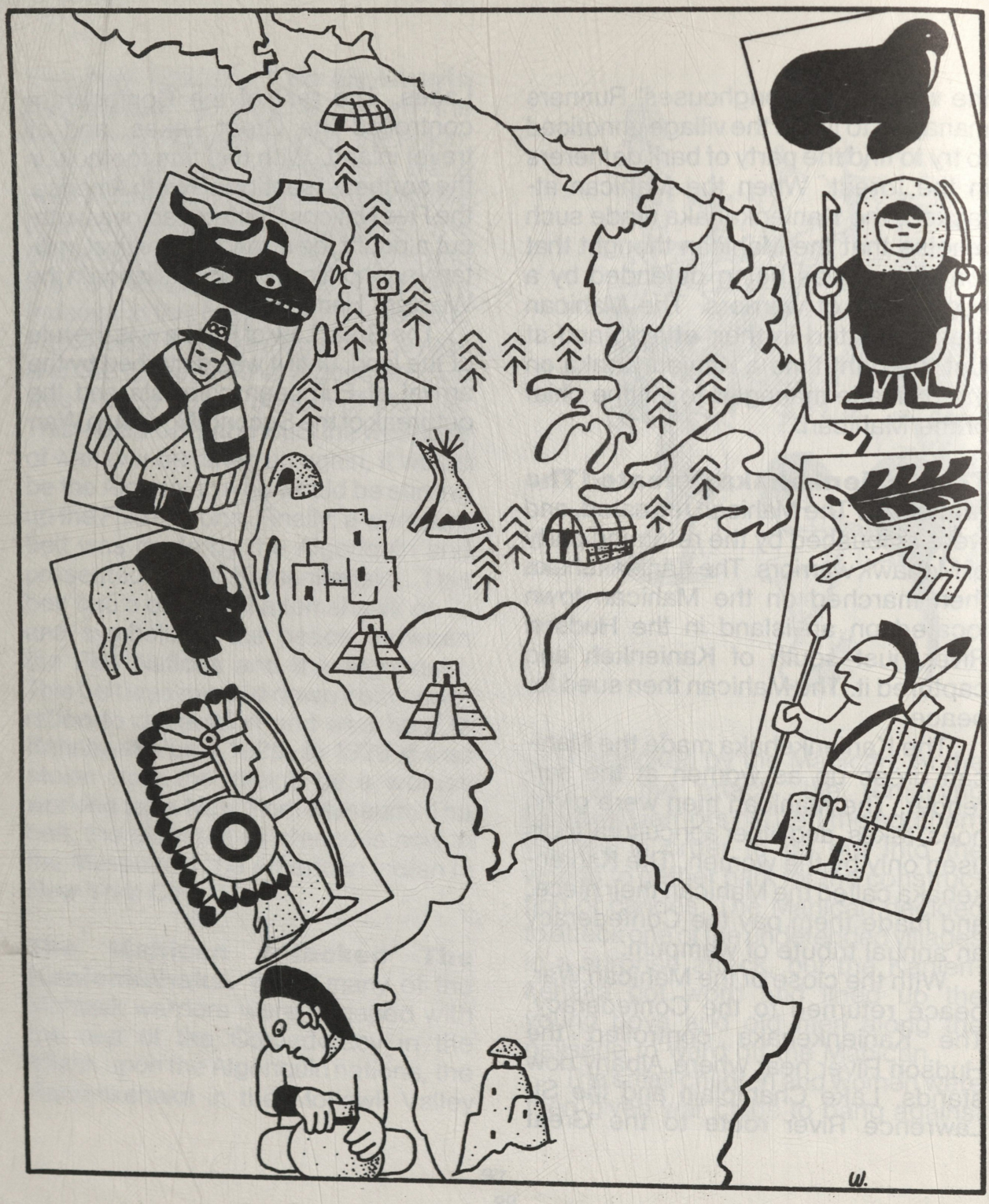
the walls of the longhouses. Runners managed to leave the village unnoticed to try to find the party of bark gatherers in the forest. When the Mahican attacked, the Kanienkehaka made such a noise that the Mahican thought that the village was being defended by a huge party of warriors. The Mahican then hesitated in their attack, and at just the right time a Kanienkehaka on the palisade managed to kill the chief of the Mahican.

The Kanienkehaka Defeated The Mahican. The Mahican retreated, and were ambushed by the returning party of Mohawk warriors. The Kanienkehaka then marched on the Mahican town located on an island in the Hudson River, just south of Kanienkeh and captured it. The Mahican then sued for peace.

The Kanienkehaka made the Mahican dress up as women at the surrender. The Mahican men were given hoes, rakes, and other agricultural tools used only by the women. The Kanienkehaka called the Mahican their niece, and made them pay the Confederacy an annual tribute of wampum.

With the close of the Mahican War, peace returned to the Confederacy. The Kanienkehaka controlled the Hudson River near where Albany now stands, Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River route to the Great Lakes. The rest of the Confederacy controlled the Great Lakes, and all travel inland. With this firm foothold in the northeast section of North America, the Five Nations Confederacy was without a doubt the strongest political, military, economic and social alliance in the Western Hemisphere.

The Great Law of Peace was the rule of the land, until it was disturbed by the arrival of European colonists and the outbreak of the Second Algonquin War.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Chapter 7
The Onkwehonwe Discover Columbus

Different societies, having different world views, do not make the same judgements on how to value human achievement. This is true for people around the world including the native nations of the Americas. A brief examination of some of the achievements and contributions of several native American nations to world civilization, will help in the understanding of this idea.

The Americas consist of two great continents, North and South America. They are joined by an isthmus, or narrower expanse of land, Central America. Central America is sometimes referred to as Middle America. The cultures of the native nations of the Americas differ a great deal from each other. This was particularly true in the late fifteenth century, the time of contact with the first Europeans.

This chapter examines:

1. Native Societies Of Southern And Central America
2. Native Societies Of North America
3. The Age Of Discovery
4. Iroquoian – European Contact

1. Native Societies Of Southern And Central America

The Inca Empire Was A Class Society. The best known native nation of South America were the Incas. The Inca Empire extended from the southern part of Chile up to the northernmost reaches of Ecuador. The center of the Inca Empire was at Cuzco, located high in the Andes Mountains. The Inca Empire was ruled by an emperor. The emperor was believed to be the child of the sun god.

The whole Inca Empire was connected by thousands of miles of roads and bridges. These roads were of crushed packed gravel and flat bedded stones. Inca bridges had to span valleys and ravines thousands of feet deep. Travel throughout the many provinces of the empire was safely protected by representatives of the emperor.

The Inca civilization was one based on a class society, such as the mound civilization of Cahokia. The emperor had absolute power in the empire. Below him were the members of the royal family and court, the priests, the craftsmen and merchants, the farmers, laborers and finally the slaves.

The Incas were famous for many accomplishments. They were skilled as gold craftsmen, engineers, agricultural specialists and as knowledgea-

ble people in medicine. The Incas had developed techniques of brain surgery long before such techniques were either developed or conceived of in Europe. The descendents of the Incas still inhabit the villages of the Andes mountains in Peru, Chile, Ecuador and parts of Bolivia.

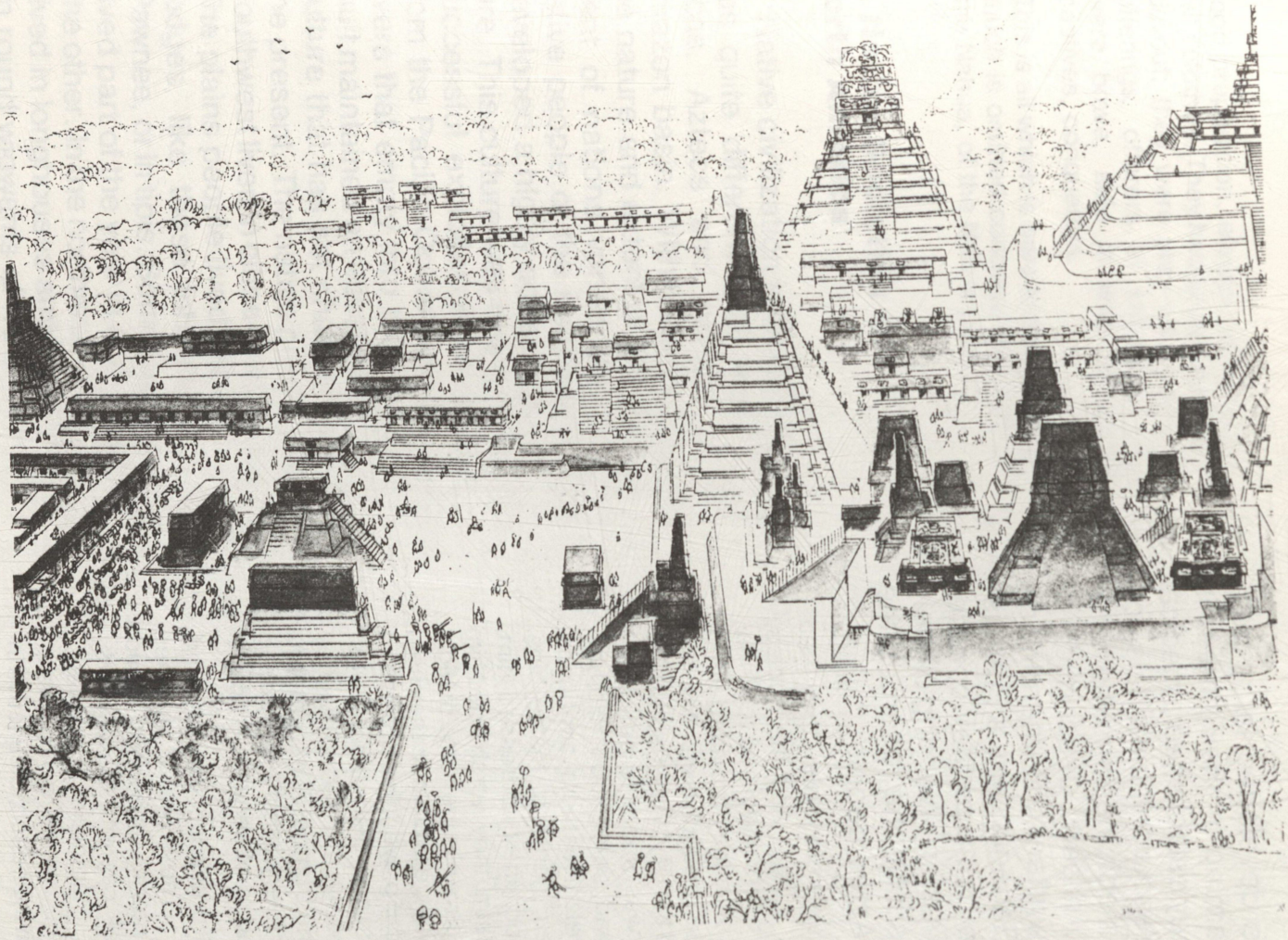
Not all native peoples of South America developed their societies in the same way that the Incas had. It is important to appreciate the achievements of Inca civilization. It is also important to realize that other achievements besides those of the Incas are worth striving for.

The People Of The Amazon Basin Lived In An Egalitarian Society. One striking example of a South American society different from the Incas is the society of the Amazonian native people. These people live in the luxurious forests of the Amazonian basin. The jungle provides them with most of their immediate wants and needs for survival. The French philosopher Michel Eyquem de Montaigne was impressed by Amazonian life to the extent that he wrote the following account in his work describing the Amazonian people:

> The laws of nature still rule them, very little corrupted by ours. It seems to me that what we actually see in these nations surpasses not only all the pictures in which poets have idealized the golden age and all their inventions in imagining a happy state of man, but also the conceptions and the very desire of philosophy.
>
> This is a nation, I should say to Plato, in which there is no sort of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no science of numbers, no name of magistrate or for political superiority, no custom of servitude, no partitions, no occupations but leisure ones, no care for any but common kindred, no clothes, no agriculture, no metal, no use of wine or wheat. The very words that signify lying, treachery, dissimulation, avarice, envy, belittling, pardon are unheard of. [1]

The Incas built huge cities of stone. The Amazonian people of South America lived in an egalitarian society. They developed a system of thought where equality was held by all men and women. Both accomplishments, as different from one another as they are, are worthy of praise and admiration.

The Aztec Empire Was A Class Society. The Olmec, Mayan and Aztec peoples of Central America, built large cities of stone. In many ways they were like the Incas of South America. The Aztecs, at the height of their power, controlled a large part of what is now Mexico and Central America. Tenochtitlan, the capital city, stood at the present site of Mexico City. Here lived the emperor and the head administrators of the empire.



The Aztecs and the Inca Nations built huge cities of stone. The Aztec and the Inca rulers used slave labor to construct temples, palaces, and other public buildings. The city pictured above is the capital city of the Aztec Empire. Some of these buildings can still be seen, not far from Mexico City.

The Aztecs developed large academies for learning in their cities. In Tenochtitlan they established a medical library with resource materials on surgery, plant medicines and the natural sciences. An early description of Aztec life was written by Bernardino de Sahagun. De Sahagun was a Franciscan priest who came to Mexico after the Spanish invasion. Working closely with an Aztec scribe, he recorded the history of the Aztec people:

> These (Nahua) were able; they had lords, nobles, rulers. And the nobles, the lords, the rulers governed the inhabitants of the city; they provided song, they set up the ground drum. It is said they enlivened the city; they made it illustrious. There was (food) to eat, provisions. They had drink, food, clothes, necklaces, quetzal feathers, armbands, homes, houses, gardens, maize bins. They had a god; they addressed him, they prayed to him, they worshipped him as a god. They gave him the name of Night (and) Wind. They were devout: they held vigil, held watch, played the two-toned drum, sat singing, bled themselves, mutilated themselves, inserted maguey spines, blew the trumpet shell, entered into the water. Every twenty-day period they proceeded to observe feast days.
>
> In them were all prudence, industry, and craftmanship. (They were) feather workers, painters, masons, gold workers, metal casters, carpenters, stone cutters, lapidaries, grinders, stone polishers, weavers, spinners; they were adroit in speech, distinctive in

food preparation, elegant with capes, with clothes. They had gods; they were devout; they were pray-ers, givers of offerings, offerers of incense. They were brave, able in war, takers of captives, conquerors.

This is all which is here to be told. Still, much is omitted concerning the life of the Nahua, of the Nahua people. *2*

2. Native Societies Of North America

Native civilization in North America was quite different from that of the Incas, Aztecs and people of the Amazon basin. Within North America the nature and extent of the development of nations varied greatly. The native people of the northwest coast developed a highly sophisticated culture. This culture was based upon the successful exploitation of resources from the Pacific Ocean and the large rivers that empty into the ocean. The Inuit maintained an essentially survival culture that has not changed much to the present. The native peoples of the southwest lived in cities of adobe brick. The plains people lived either in earth lodges, like those inhabited by the Pawnee, or in tipis. Some plains people lived part of the year in one and part in the other. In the northeast, the Iroquois lived in longhouses and the Algonquin in round wigwams of bark and skins.

One Central Feature Was Usually Common To All. Despite the many differences that characterized native culture in North America at the time of contact, there was one central feature that was usually common to all. In order to identify this feature, read the following quotes by Europeans describing the various nations of North America.

In 1612 the Algonquin people of the Great Lakes regions of North America were described by the Jesuit, Pierre Biard:

> They love justice and hate violence and robbery, a thing really remarkable in men who have neither laws nor magistrates; for among them each man is his own master and his own protector. They have Sagamores, that is, leaders in war; but their authority is most precarious, if, indeed, that may be called authority to which obedience is in no wise obligatory. The Indians follow them through the persuasion of example or custom, or of ties of kindred and alliance. *3*

Nicolaes Van Wassenaer, a Dutch merchant in New York described the Mahicans living between Albany and New York. Van Wassenaer wrote in 1624:

> There is little authority known among these nations. They live almost equally free. In each village, indeed, is found a person who is somewhat above the others and commands absolutely when there is war and when they are gathered from all

the villages to go to war. But the fight once ended, his authority ceases. *4*

Fr. Jerome Lalemant, a Jesuit, wrote about the Hurons in the Jesuit Relations. The Relations were an annual report written to the Jesuit superiors in France:

> From the beginning of the world to the coming of the French, the Indians have never known what it was so solemnly to forbid anything to their people, under any penalty, however slight. They are free people, each of whom considers himself of as much consequence as the others; and they submit to their chiefs only in so far as it pleases them. *5*

The Illinois and the nations of the Ohio Valley were described in numerous journals, a few passages of which appear below:

> As there is neither rank nor dignity among them, all men seem equal to them. An Illinois would speak as boldly to the King of France as to the lowest of his subjects. Most of them are capable of sustaining a conversation with any person, provided no question be treated of that is beyond their sphere of knowledge...
>
> The love of liberty is innate in the Indian; and seems the ruling passion of the state of nature.
>
> Nor is a servile regard paid to the distinction of high and low, rich and poor, noble and ignoble.
>
> Among the Indians all men are equal, personal qualities being most esteemed. No distinction of birth, no rank, renders any man capable of doing prejudice to the rights of private persons; and there is no pre-eminence from merit, which begets pride, and which makes others too sensible of their own inferiority.
>
> Their King has no power to put any one to death by his own authority; but the murderer is generally delivered up to the friends of the deceased, to do as they please...Their kings are hereditary, but their authority extremely limited. No people are a more striking evidence of the miseries of mankind in the want of government than they. Every chief, when offended, breaks off with a party, settles at some distance, and then commences hostilities against his own people. *6*

Finally, the great Iroquois Confederacy was decribed in numerous places. Of all the early sources, it was described most extensively in the History of the Five Indian Nations by Cadwallader Colden:

> Their great Men, both Sachems and Captains, are generally poorer than the common People for they affect to give away and distribute all the Presents or Plunder they get in their Treaties or in War, so as to leave nothing for themselves. There is not a Man in the Ministry of the Five Nations, who has gain'd his Office, otherwise than by Merit; there is not the least Salary, or any Sort of Profit, annexed to any Office, to tempt the Covetous or Sordid; but, on the contrary, every unworthy Action is unavoidably attended with the Forfeiture of their Commission; for their Authority is only

the Esteem of the People, and ceases the Moment that Esteem is lost. Here we see the natural Origin of all Power and Authority among a free People, and whatever artificial Power of Sovereignty any Man may have acquired, by the law and Constitution of a Country, his real Power will be ever much greater or less, in Proportion to the Esteem People have of him.

The Five Nations have such absolute Notions of Liberty, that they allow of no Kind of Superiority of one over another, and banish all Servitude from their Territories. They never make any Prisoner a Slave; but it is customary among them to make a Compliment of Naturalization into the Five Nations; and, considering how highly they value themselves above all others, this must be no small compliment. 7

North American Society Was Based On The Freedom Of The Individual. The one most prominent feature expressed in all of these descriptions is that native North American society was based upon the freedom of the individual. Everybody was considered an equal, and no one person was allowed to accumulate too much wealth or prestige in the community. Native American society was for the most part a society without kings, without chiefs who had control over people, and without laws that were not supported by the people.

Often times when a non-native person speaks about the contribution that native people made to the world, such things as the cultivation of corn, certain varieties of beans, squash, tomatoes and grains are cited.

It is true that all of these contributions are significant. It is necessary, however, to point out that the most important and longest lasting contribution that native people developed and gave to the world was the idea of a free world, where all men and women could live in brotherhood as equals. This is an idea that Europeans could not completely understand, even though it is the central belief of Christianity and the basis of the teachings of Jesus Christ.

This is the "America" that European people "discovered" through the voyages of men such as Christopher Columbus. Europeans "discovered" a highly developed society that did not place its values on huge buildings and monuments. North American native civilization placed its values on the worth and the dignity of the individual human being. The societies of North America were designed to support these values not to destroy them. To the Europeans these values were "primitive". Only recently has the world come to appreciate the need for such values if the earth is to survive.

3. The Age of Discovery

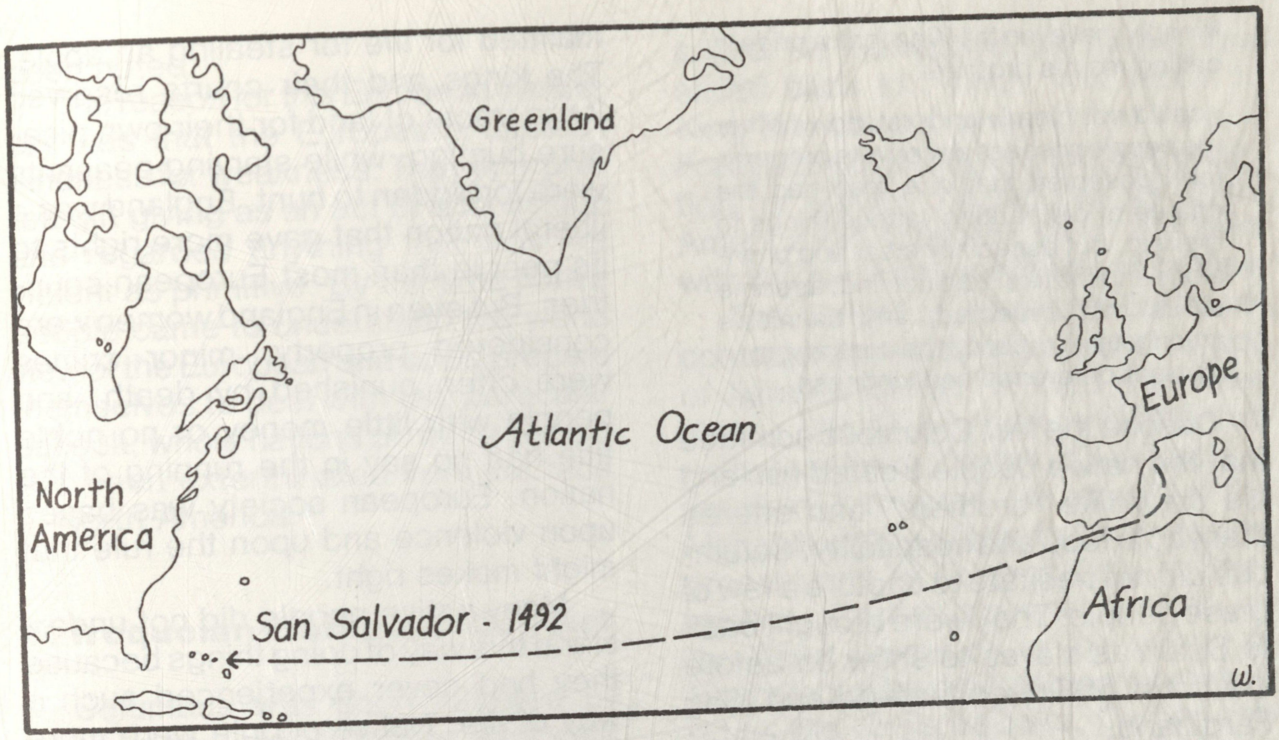
The late 1400's in Europe were difficult years. The Christian Church, the foundation and rock of European culture, went through enormous change and division during these years. The boundaries of whole nations and empires changed as religious protest swept throughout Europe. This period has been called by some, the Renaissance, or rebirth of European Culture, by others the Age of Reason, and by others yet an age of Religious Crisis. It was during this period that European man set out to launch his "Age of Discovery".

The Strongest Motivation For Exploration Was The Expansion Of Trade. What was it that prompted men such as Christopher Columbus to leave their homes and sail west to launch an age of discovery and colonization? At first the strongest motivating force of European adventurers and explorers was to locate new routes for securing trade goods, such as teas, silk, spices and precious metals from Asia. These explorers were also looking for new markets in which to sell items manufactured in Europe. Consequently, most early explorations were supported by donations from groups of wealthy merchants, or by kings and queens interested in increasing the trade of their countries.

At first, explorers from Europe traveled overland to reach the kingdoms and nations of Asia. Marco Polo was one such explorer. The overland route proved to be long and hard. In the middle fifteenth century, the Portuguese began sailing their ships around Africa. From the eastern shores of Africa they were able to cross the Indian Ocean to Asia. This route too was a long and hard journey.

Columbus Landed In the Americas. At the close of the fifteenth century a young Italian, Christopher Columbus noticed that ships returning to his home town port of Genoa always showed their mast before the sides of the ships appeared. From this Columbus deduced that the world was round. This theory was considered absurd by most Europeans. They believed that the Earth was a flat surface, and that if man sailed too far across the seas, he would fall prey to huge monsters and sea serpents. If he managed to escape these dangers, Europeans believed, then surely man and ships would fall off of the edge of the world. This world view was reflected in many legends of seamen, in books published at the time in Europe, and in maps published for use by navigators.

Columbus did not believe these stories. On August 3, 1492, with the



Map illustrating the first voyage of Christopher Columbus.

support of the Queen and King of Spain, he set sail west to travel around the globe to Asia. Instead he landed in the Americas at San Salvador on October 12, 1492. On March 14th of 1493 Columbus wrote a letter in which he described the event of his discovery by the Carib native people:

> They are simple and honest, and exceedingly liberal with all they have; none of them refusing anything he may possess when he is asked for it, but on the contrary inviting us to ask them. They exhibit great love towards all others in preference to themselves: they also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little or nothing in return...
>
> ...when they got rid of the fear they at first entertained, (they) would come out in throngs, crowding the roads to see us, some bringing food, others drink, with astonishing affection and kindness...
>
> ...these people are so amiable and

> friendly that even the King took a pride in calling me his brother...
>
> I could not clearly understand whether the people possess any private property, for I observed that one man had the charge of distributing various things to the rest, but especially meat and provisions and the like. I did not find, as some of us had expected, any cannibals amongst them, but on the contrary, men of great deference and kindness. *8*

Despite the fact Columbus admitted that the native people treated him and his crew like "brothers" and offered them both food and hospitality, Columbus did not hesitate to capture a few of these people. They were brought back to Spain as slaves to show off before the court of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand.

This act of duplicity, characterized European dealings with native people. Before continuing with the story of the European encroachment of the Americas, it is best to think about and question why the Europeans behaved in the manner that they did.

European Society Was Full Of Violence. Unlike North American native society, European society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was full of violence. Men were forced to follow the laws of kings. The penalty for not following these laws, was often death. In Europe, a beggar could be killed or maimed for life for stealing an apple. The kings and their courts reserved large tracts of land for their own pleasure hunting, while starving peasants were forbidden to hunt. England was a liberal nation that gave more rights to its people than most European countries. But even in England women were considered property, minor crimes were often punished by death, and people with little money or no noble title had no say in the running of the nation. European society was based upon violence and upon the rule that might makes right.

Many native people did not understand this way of doing things because they had never experienced such a way of life. Native people were more open and trusting in their encounters with Europeans. They genuinely treated these visitors like guests in their homes. The Pilgrims at Plymouth were saved from starvation by the Massachusetts Nation. Jacques Cartier was welcomed by the Kanienkehaka and his men were cured of the disease scurvy. Columbus was showered with gifts by the friendly and defenseless Caribs. The English descendents of the Pilgrims killed the Massachusetts people and hung the head of their chief from the top of a pole at the entrance of Boston. Cartier kidnapped the son of the Mohawk chief in whose house he was a guest. The kindness of Columbus has already

been noted.

The reason for this European treachery was that the Europeans mistook kindness for weakness. They interpreted gift giving as an act of submission and regarded anything that was not violent as primitive. By the time native people came to understand the world view of the European and could prepare themselves to deal with this particular outlook, whole nations of native people had been exterminated from the face of North America.

4. Iroquoian-European Contact

Columbus was soon followed by wave upon wave of further explorers and colonists. The explorations of the French, English and Dutch are of the most interest and importance to the history of the Kanienkehaka. The following early dates and events are particularly important to note.

Cartier Met The Kanienkehaka. In the year 1497 John Cabot sailed under the English flag across the sea and landed in what is now called Newfoundland. He claimed Newfoundland for King Henry VII of England. In 1534 Jacques Cartier landed at Gaspé and claimed the territory for King Francis I of France. Cartier explored the Gulf of the St. Lawrence as far as Anticosti Island. He kidnapped two natives and sailed back to France. His report to King Francis encouraged the King of France to sponsor yet another expedition for Cartier. Cartier left for North America the following year, this time with the two native captives as guides.

The history of Iroquoian-European contact begins with this second voyage of Jacques Cartier. In 1535 with three ships, 110 of his men and the two native captives, Cartier sailed back up the Saint Lawrence. He arrived at the Mohawk village of Stadacona near the present site of Quebec City. In September, Cartier traveled further up the Saint Lawrence to the village of Hochelaga where he was warmly greeted by the Kanienkehaka. Cartier only spent a few hours at Hochelaga. Years later a sketch was made of the village of Hochelaga based upon Cartier's description.

The Kanienkehaka Cured Cartier's Men Of Scurvy. Cartier returned to Stadacona to spend the winter of 1535 and 1536. During the winter some of Cartier's men caught scurvy. Twenty five of his men died before Cartier turned to the Kanienkehaka for assistance. The Kanienkehaka responded with help, as described in Cartier's journal. The following is an edited extract:

The Mohawk are shown here using spruce to cure Cartier's men of scurvy.

Near the site of Montreal in the year 1535 occurred the first reported cure performed by Indians in this continent north of Mexico. In the journal of Cartier's second voyage up the St. Lawrence, it is reported that his ships were frozen in the ice from mid-November until mid-March, during which time scurvy caused the death of "five and twentie of our best and chiefest men, and all the rest were so sicke, that wee thought they should never recover againe, only three or foure excepted. Then it pleased God to cast his pitiful eye upon us, and sent us the knowledge of remedie of our healthes and recoverie..."

The messengers which "pleased God" to send with the remedy were the natives of the country. While Cartier was walking upon the ice, he saw a group of Indians, "among whom was Domagaia, who not passing ten or twelve days afore, had bene very sicke with that disease, and had his knee swolne as bigge as a childe of two yeres old, all his sinews shrunke together, his teeth spoyled, his gummes rotten, and stinking. Our Captaine seeking him whole and sound, was thereat marvelous glad, hoping to understand and know of him how he had healed himselfe, to the end that he might ease and help his men. So soone as they were come neere him, he asked Domagaia how he had done to heale himselfe: he answered, that he had taken the juice and sappe of the leaves of a certain Tree, and therewith had healed himselfe: For it is a singular remedy against that disease."

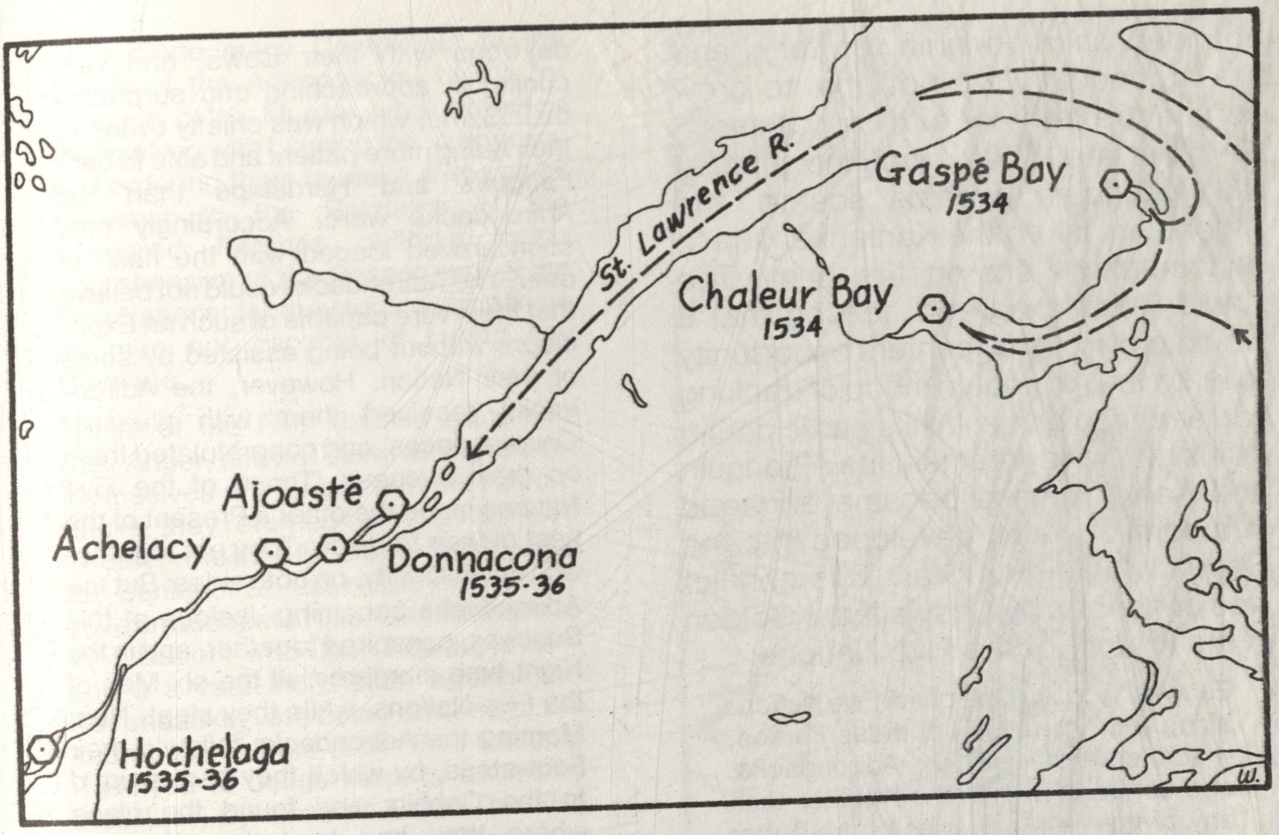
Cartier asked to be shown the healing tree, pretending that he wished to cure a servant, "because he would not shew the number of the sicke men." Domagaia sent two women to gather branches of it, and showed the French how to use it, boiling the bark and leaves for a decoction, and placing the dregs upon the legs. The Indians declared "that the vertue of this tree was, to heale any other diseases: the tree is in their language called Ameda or Hanneda, this is thought to be the Sassafras tree." (Sassafras does not grow in that climate; present writers conclude that it was white pine, hemlock, or spruce.)

The French at first hesitated to accept the strange medicine, but once having done so, they were soon cured. The account concluded that if all the physicians of Montpelier and Louvain had been there with all the drugs of Alexandria, "they would not have done so much in one yere, as that tree did in sixe days, for it did so prevaile, that as many as used of it, by the grace of God recovered their health." 9

Cartier Kidnapped His Mohawk Hosts. In May of 1536 Cartier repaid the Kanienkehaka by seizing a few of the Stadaconans, including the chief Donnacona's son and transported them back to France.

During the years 1576-1578 Martin Frobisher explored the regions around Frobisher Bay in search of a northwest passage through the continent of North America to Asia. For the remainder of the sixteenth century, the French and the English continued to explore and

Jacques Cartier, French explorer and adventurer



Map illustrating the voyages of Cartier.

lay claim to regions of North America. For the most part, however, contact between the Kanienkehaka and Europeans was non-existent.

The Second Algonquin War Started Over A Murder. The next stage in contact between the Kanienkehaka and the Europeans began in the late 1500's. During this time, the Algonquin people north of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes experienced a famine. For unknown reasons, the hunting in Algonquin territory became depleted. Since the end of the first Algonquin War, the Kanienkehaka and the Algonquin peoples living north of Kanienkeh had shared a cooperative arrangement whereby the Kanienkehaka traded corn for venison. Game was usually more

abundant in Algonquin territory, and the Algonquin were not able to grow corn in the territory of their nations.

In the late 1500's when the game of the Algonquin became scarce, the Algonquin asked the Kanienkehaka to accompany them on the hunt. The Kanienkehaka agreed, feeling that it would provide their hunters opportunity to learn the Algonquin mode of tracking and securing game. While participating in this hunting agreement the Algonquin and Kanienkehaka became engaged in a conflict which developed into the Second Algonquin War. This conflict was described by Cadwallader Colden in his History of the Five Nations:

> Each party took some of the Five Nations along with them. One of these Parties, which consisted of six Adirondacks, and six Iroquois marched further than any of the rest, in hopes of the better Sport: They had bad luck for a long time, and were obliged to live upon the Bark of Trees, and some Roots, which the Iroquois found in the ground, under the Snow. These hardships obliged the Algonquin to part from those of the Five Nations, each making a separate Company; and after they had agreed on a Day to return to a Cabbin where both of them left their Baggage, each took his Quarter to hunt in: The Adirondacks were unlucky, and return'd first to the Cabbin, where not finding those of the Five Nations, they did not doubt of their being dead of Hunger; but these young Men of the Five Nations were become dextrous with their Bows, and very cuning in approaching and surprizing their Game, which was chiefly owing to their being more patient and able to bear Fatigues and Hardships than the Adirondacks were. Accordingly they soon arrived loaded with the flesh of deer. The Adirondacks could not believe that they were capable of such an Expedition, without being assisted by some of their Nation. However, the Adirondacks received them with pleasant Countenances, and congratulated them on their Success. Those of the Five Nations made the other a Present of the best of their Venison: They eat together with much Civility, on both sides: But the Adirondacks becoming Jealous of this Success, conspired together, and in the Night time murdered all the six Men of the Five Nations, while they slept. Next Morning the Adirondacks follow'd their Foot-steps, by which they had return'd to the Cabbin, and found the place where they had hunted, and much Venison which they had killed, which the Adirondacks dryed, and carried home along with them.
>
> The rest of the Five Nations enquired after their Companions; The Adirondacks answered very cooly, that they parted soon after they had left home, and they knew not what was become of them. But the People of the Five Nations being impatient to know something certain of their Companions, sent out several Parties in Quest of them: They followed the Foot-steps of those Hunters, and found the six Dead Bodies, which the wild Beasts had dug up; and upon examination found they had been Murdered.

They made many Complaints to the Chiefs of the Adirondacks, of the Inhumanity of this Murder, who contented themselves with blaming the Murderers, and ordering them to make some small Presents to the Relations of the murdered Persons, without being apprehensive of the Resentment of the Five Nations; for they took'd upon them as men not capable of taking any Revenge.

Those of the Five Nations smother'd their Anger, and not being willing to trust themselves any longer with the Adirondacks, they returned home to their own People, who then lived near Montreal on the Banks of St. Lawrence River. They gave an account of this Assassination to their Nation, who upon hearing it conceiv'd a vast Indignation against the Adirondacks, who being advised of the secret movements of the Five Nations, Resolved to oblige them to submit to their Law, by force of Arms. The Five Nations apprehending their Power, retired to the Southward of Cadarackui Lake, where they now live, and defended themselves at first but faintly against the Vigorous Attacks of the Adirondacks. But afterwards becoming more expert, and more used to War, they not only made a brave Defence, but likewise made themselves Masters of the Great Lakes, and chased the Shawanons from thence. *10*

Site of the battles between the Mohawk and the combined forces of French and Montagnais.

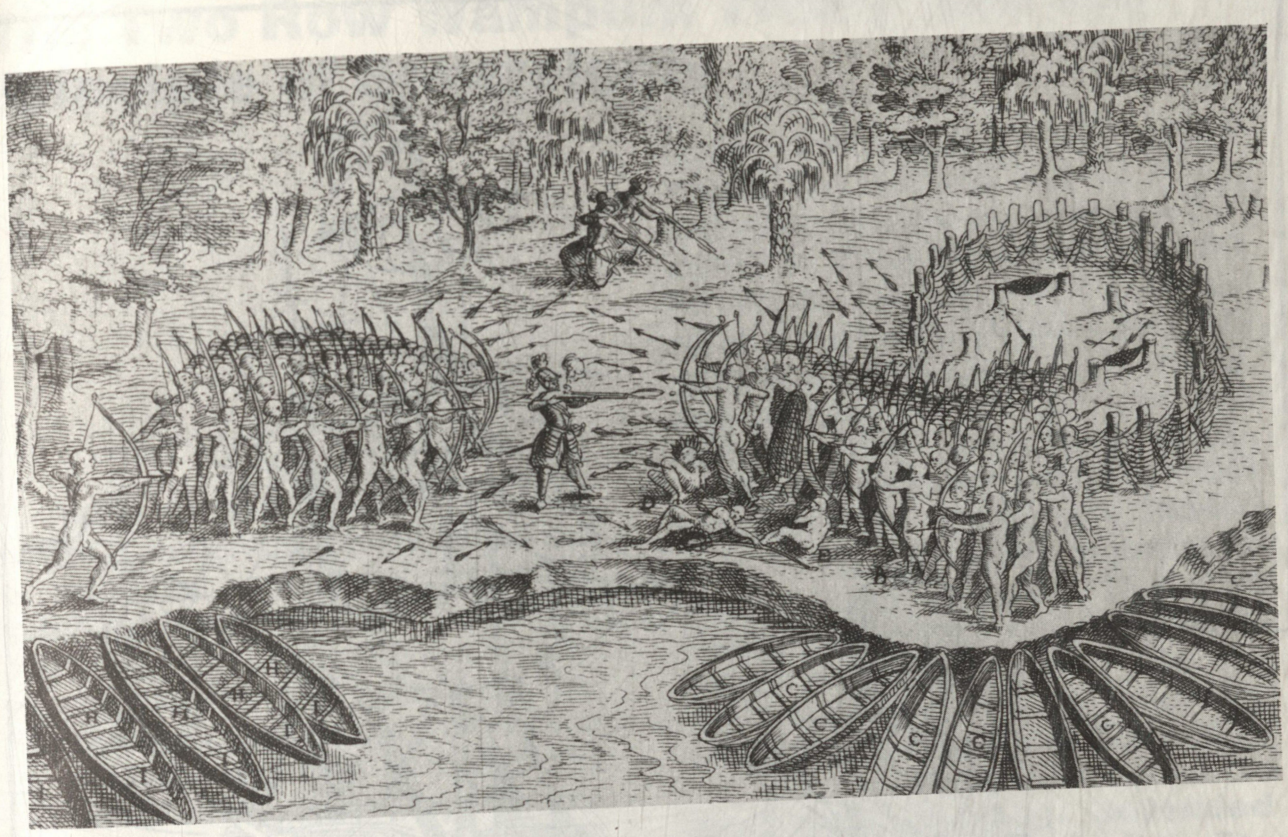
Champlain Fought Against The Kanienkehaka. During the Second Algonquin War, the French established a trading post on the north shore of the Saint Lawrence River at Tadoussac. In 1606 Samuel Champlain sailed for North America and established yet another post at Port Royal. By 1608 Champlain had relocated most of the French trading activities to the Quebec area.

During this time the Kanienkehaka had pulled back from the northern most part of Kanienkeh. This was probably due to the war with the Algonquin. This practice is customary among nations that have a great deal of territory to defend in a time of war. The northern part of Kanienkeh was the scene of most of the fighting between the Kanienkehaka and the Algonquin.

In this part of Kanienkeh the Kanienkehaka and Algonquin fought at what is now Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain in July 1609. At this battle the particular Algonquin nation involved were the Montagnais. The Kanienkehaka retreated from this battle because the Montagnais were strengthened by a few Huron, Champlain, two of his men and their firearms. This was the first occasion in which the Kanienkehaka saw the effects of firearms. In the minds of the Kanienkehaka, Champlain had violated the basic principles of sovereignty by joining the Algonquin in battle against them. This decision of the French to ally themselves with the Algonquin affected Iroquois-French relationships for centuries to come.

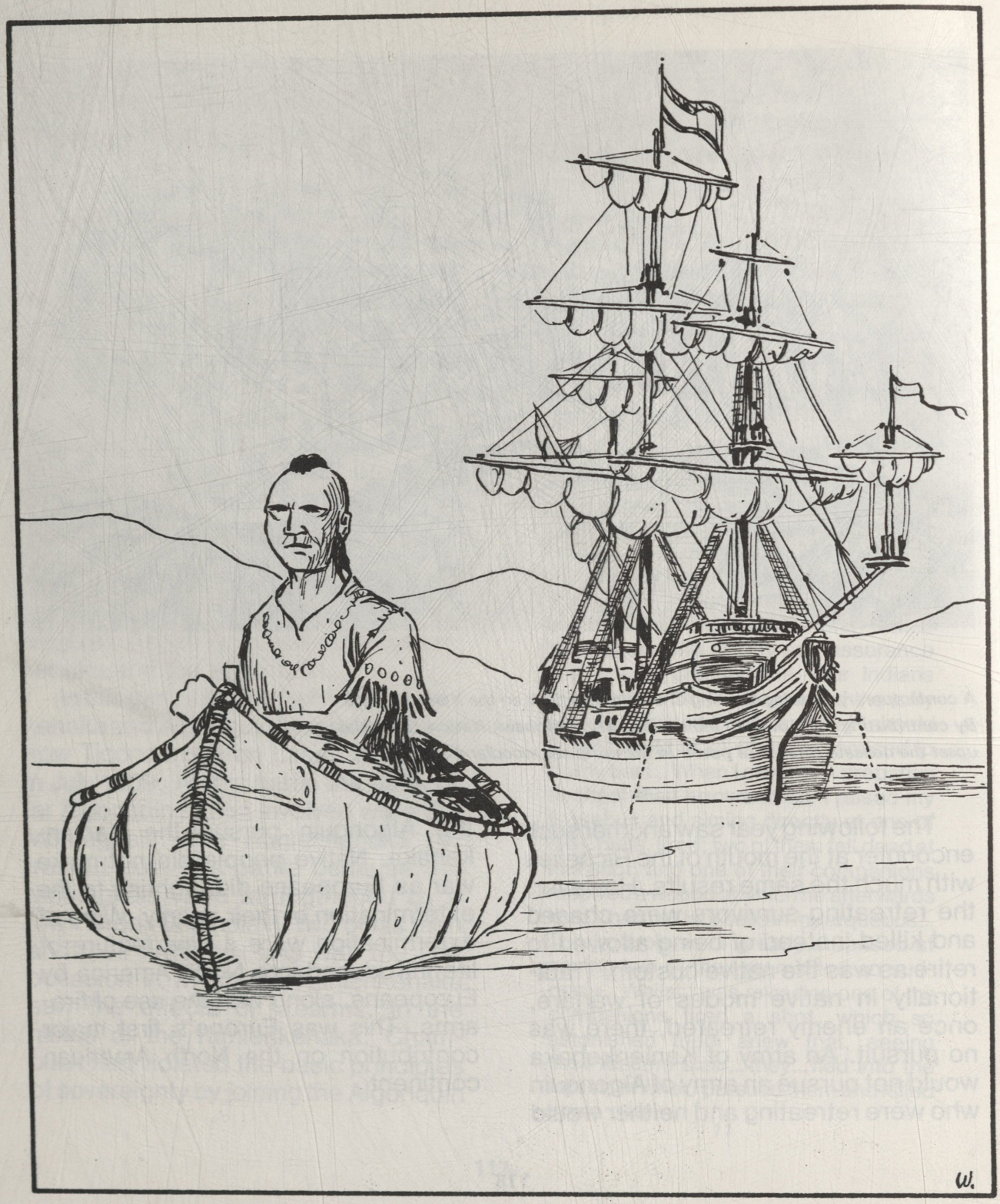
Leading up to the battle, Champlain's party and their native allies had ventured into Mohawk territory. Traveling along the shores of Lake Champlain at night, they met a group of Mohawk warriors. The Montagnais arranged a formal encounter for the following morning. The engagement is best described from Champlain's own writings:

> My Frenchmen were concealed in separate canoes belonging to the Montagnais. After equipping ourselves in light armour, each of us seized an arquebus and went ashore. Leaving their barricade, the enemy, numbering about two hundred strong and robust men, came towards us with gravity and assurance that greatly pleased me. Our Indians told me that those who carried the lofty plumes were the Chiefs and that I should do all I could to kill them. I promised to do my best... When I saw them preparing to shoot their arrows at us, I raised my arquebus and aiming directly at one of the Chiefs, fired; two of them fell dead at this shot, and one of their companions received a wound of which he afterwards died. I had put four balls in my arquebus... The Iroquois were greatly surprised at seeing two of their men killed so suddenly... Whilst I was reloading one of my companions fired a shot, which so astonished them anew that, seeing their leaders slain... they... fled into the forest; whither I pursued them and killed some others.
>
> *11*



A contemporary drawing showing Champlain's attack on the Kanienkehaka. By contributing gun power to the enemies of the Mohawk Nation, Champlain upset the delicate balance of power in the northeast woodlands.

The following year saw another such encounter at the mouth of the Richelieu with much the same results. However, the retreating survivors were chased and killed instead of being allowed to retire as was the native custom. Traditionally in native modes of warfare, once an enemy retreated, there was no pursuit. An army of Kanienkehaka would not pursue an army of Algonquin who were retreating and neither would the Algonquin pursue the Kanienkehaka. Native people did not make war as Europeans did, fighting to the extermination of their enemy. Wars of extermination were a new feature of life introduced into North America by Europeans, along with the use of firearms. This was Europe's first major contribution on the North American continent.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Chapter 8
The Two Row Wampum Treaty and the Principle of Sovereignty

As the Keepers of the Eastern Door of the Confederacy, the Kanienkehaka were the first Iroquois nation to make sustained contact with Europeans. The first European people that the Kanienkehaka had contact with were the French along the St. Lawrence. Initially they had welcomed Cartier, cured his men of scurvy, and were rewarded by treachery and slavery. Relations between the Confederacy and European nations were not off to a good start.

This chapter looks at:

1. The Two Row Wampum Treaty
2. Sovereignty

1. The Two Row Wampum Treaty

When the French returned to the St. Lawrence River in 1608, the Kanienkehaka were involved in a struggle with the Algonquin nations north of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. The difficulties between the Kanienkehaka and the Algonquin would have been quickly resolved without the interference of Champlain. Champlain had an important decision to make when he joined in battle against the Kanienkehaka on the side of his Algonquin allies. By so involving himself, he violated a basic principle of sovereignty, and gained the mistrust of the Five Nations for the French for centuries.

The Kanienkehaka were set back temporarily by Champlain's interference. They had never encountered firearms in the field before. This upset the delicate balance of power in the St. Lawrence Valley. For their part the Kanienkehaka learned a valuable lesson in dealing with the European.

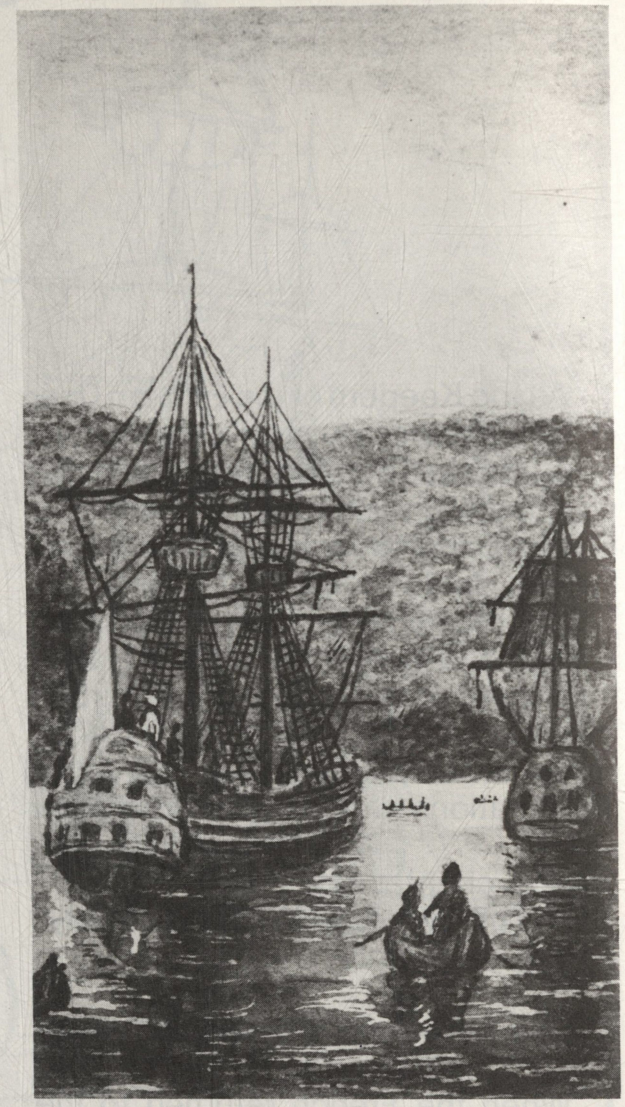
The Kanienkehaka Defended Their Land From The Dutch. The same year that Champlain launched his attack against the Kanienkehaka, Henry Hudson sailed up the Hudson River into the heart of Kanienkeh. Although Hudson was an Englishman, he was working at the time for the Dutch East Indian Company. In 1624 the Dutch established a settlement at Albany, calling it Fort Orange. Initially the Dutch made the same mistake as the French in their dealings with the Kanienkehaka.

The Dutch were asked by the Mahicans to accompany them in an attack against the Kanienkehaka. Commander Kreickebeck and six of his men

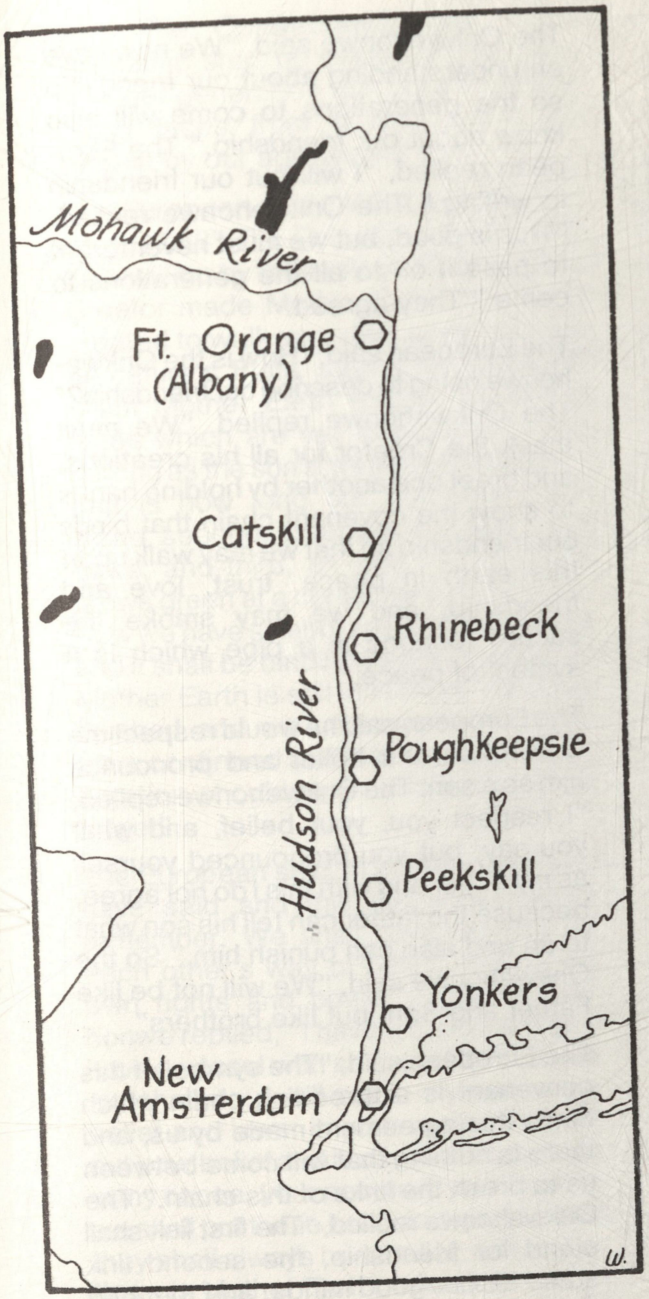
joined the Mahican in the attack. The Dutch had firearms, while the Kanienkehaka were armed only with their costumary bows and arrows. The Kanienkehaka expected trouble from the Dutch and guarded themselves carefully. The Dutch and Mahicans marched nine miles up the Mohawk River and met the Kanienkehaka in the battle. The Kanienkehaka were victorious. Kreickebeck and three of his men were killed during the skirmish.

A few days later a Dutch trader by the name of Peter Barentsen traveled into Kanienkeh. Barentsen was a friend of the Kanienkehaka and in no danger of being hurt. The Kanienkehaka told this trader that "they had never injured the whites and asked the reason why the whites had meddled with them." Soon after this encounter, the Mahicans were defeated by the Kanienkehaka for once and for all. Most of the Mahican then left their territory around the Hudson River selling their land to the Dutch.

The Kanienkehaka And Dutch Made The Two Row Wampum Treaty. After this initial unfortunate contact between the Dutch and Kanienkehaka, the two nations came together and concluded a treaty of peace and friendship. This treaty became the basis for all dealings between the Confederacy and the nations of Europe. It is



With the arrival of Dutch trading vessels in Mohawk waters, direct trade became possible between the Kanienkehaka and Europeans. The differences between the Dutch ships and the Mohawk canoes came to symbolize the basic differences between these two cultures.



Site of the major Dutch settlements in North America

called the Two Row Wampum Treaty.

According to John Pyrlaeus, the Two Row Wampum Treaty was made in the year 1645 between the Kanienkehaka and the Dutch. The council for the treaty was held at Tawasentha, about four miles south of Albany. Also according to Pyrlaeus "the Kanienkehaka were the active body in effecting this work".

Before examining what the Two Row Wampum Treaty meant to the Confederacy and the Dutch, one should examine three important concepts and ideas that are involved in treaty making.

First, a definition of "treaty" is required. A treaty is an agreement between two nations stating that certain conditions will exist between these two, and pledging that these conditions will not be violated. Treaty making assumes that both nations have the power to enforce the treaty within their own borders. This assumes that each nation is a sovereign power.

The second concept is "sovereignty". A nation that has sovereignty is independant and free, with the right to a territory of its own. Nations do not fight for sovereignty. They either have it or they do not. Sometimes it happens that a nation has to fight to have other nations recognize and respect this sovereignty.

The last concept is "nation". Sometimes it is a good idea to examine the

origins of words when one wants to find out what they originally meant. This information can be found in most dictionaries. The word nation comes from the Latin word meaning "birth". A nation is born from a common stock and shares a common heritage. It is important to point out that in many cases Mohawk concepts and English concepts differ greatly. The concept of nation has similar meanings in the Mohawk and English languages. The Mohawk word for nation is Kanakerahsera. Naker is the root of the word to be born. Therefore, the Mohawk concept of nation like the English concept of nation means "to be born from". To belong to a nation means to share the common heritage, beliefs, history and world view of a single people.

Following Is A Description Of The Treaty Conference. The Two Row Wampum is a treaty between two sovereign nations, the Kanienkehaka representing the Confederacy, and the Dutch. The treaty was symbolized by a belt of white wampum with two rows of purple shells laid out parallel along the length of the belt. The two rows represented the two nations who made the treaty, the Dutch and the Kanienkehaka. Following is a description of the treaty conference:

The Onkwehonwe said, "We now have an understanding about our friendship so the generations to come will also know about our friendship." The European replied, "I will put our friendship in writing." The Onkwehonwe replied, "This is good, but we must never forget to pass it on to all the generations to come." They agreed.

The European said, "How is the Onkwehonwe going to describe our friendship?" The Onkwehonwe replied, "We must thank the Creator for all his creations, and greet one another by holding hands to show the covenant chain that binds our friendship so that we may walk upon this earth in peace, trust, love and friendship, and we may smoke the sacred tobacco in a pipe which is a symbol of peace."

The European said he would respect the Onkwehonwe's belief and pronounce him as a son. The Onkwehonwe replied, "I respect you, your belief, and what you say; but you pronounced yourself as my father and with this I do not agree, because the father can tell his son what to do and also can punish him." So the Onkwehonwe said, "We will not be like Father and Son, but like brothers".

The European said, "The symbol of this convenant is a three-link chain which binds this agreement made by us, and there is nothing that will come between us to break the links of this chain." The Onkwehonwe replied, "The first link shall stand for friendship, the second link stand for our good minds, and the third link shall mean there will always be peace between us. This is confirmed by

us." The Onkwehonwe said, "This friendship shall be everlasting and the younger generation will know it and the rising faces from Mother Earth will benefit by our agreement".

The European said, "What symbols will you go by?" The Onkwehonwe replied, "We will go by these symbols: when the Creator made Mother Earth, man was created to walk upon this earth to enjoy all nature's fruits, saying no one shall claim Mother Earth except the rising faces which are yet to be born. First, as long as the sun shines upon this earth, that is how long our agreement will stand; second, as long as the water still flows; and third, as long as the grass grows green at a certain time of the year. Now we have symbolized this agreement and it shall be binding forever as long as Mother Earth is still in motion. We have finished and we understand what we have confirmed and this is what our generation should know and learn not to forget".

The European said, "I confirm what you have said and this we shall always remember. We shall have respect for each other's way of belief, having our own rights and power". The Onkwehonwe replied, "I have a canoe and you have a vessel with sails and this is what we shall do; I will put in my canoe my belief and laws; in your vessel you will put your belief and laws; all of my people in my canoe, your people in your vessel; we shall put these boats in the water and they shall always be parallel. As long as there is Mother Earth, this will be everlasting".

The European said, "What will happen if any of your people may someday want to have one foot in each of the boats that we placed parallel?" The Onkwehonwe replied, "If this so happens that my people may wish to have their feet in each of the boats, there will be a high wind and the boats will separate and the person that has his feet in each of the boats shall fall between the boats; and there is no living soul who will be able to bring him back to the right way given by the Creator, but only one: The Creator himself".

The Onkwehonwe called the wampum belt Khaswentha. The two paths signify the laws and beliefs of the European and the laws and beliefs of the Onkwehonwe. The white wampum background signifies purity, good minds and peace, and that the two peoples should not interfere with one another's ways.

The European said, "I understand. I confirm what you have said, that this will be everlasting as long as there is Mother Earth. We have confirmed this and our generation to come shall never forget what we have agreed. Now it is understood that we shall never interfere with one another's beliefs or laws for generations to come".

The Onkwehonwe said, "What we agreed upon shall be renewed every so often so that the covenant chain made between us shall always be clean from dust and rust. We shall renew our agreements and polish the covenant and when we get together to renew our agreements, we shall have interpreters; we will dress the same way as when we

> met so that our people will know who we are. I will put on my buckskin clothing, you will dress the same way that you dressed when you first came to our people, the Onkwehonwe." They both confirmed this. So they completed the treaty of the two parties. *1*

In The Two Row Wampum Treaty The Kanienkehaka And Dutch Agreed To Respect Each Others Ways. The terms of the treaty were simple. The Dutch and the Kanienkehaka agreed to respect each other's national boundaries, unique cultures, political systems and religious beliefs. The Kanienkehaka agreed not to interfere with the Dutch and their affairs. The Dutch agreed not to become involved in the affairs of the Kanienkehaka. The treaty was called a "friendship treaty" because the Kanienkehaka believed that mutual respect was necessary if the two nations were to remain on friendly terms.

The terms of the treaty have been described in different ways. One common way of describing the Two Row Wampum Treaty was by using the symbol of a canoe and a ship. The canoe symbolized the Kanienkehaka and the ship the Dutch. The Kanienkehaka would travel in their canoes and the Dutch in their ships. The Kanienkehaka would not try to board the Dutch ship and tell the Duch how to steer a straight course, nor would the Dutch try to tell the Kanienkehaka how to paddle their canoes. In this way both agreed to respect each other's ways and boundaries.

The seventeenth century Kanienkehaka were wise men and women. They knew from their past experiences with both the French and the Dutch that they could not coexist with the Dutch unless both agreed to the principle of mutual noninterference. A treaty like the Two Row Wampum Treaty was necessary to achieve these ends. Both the Kanienkehaka and the Dutch had much to gain from this arrangement. The Dutch would be free to trade with the Kanienkehaka, benefitting from the Confederacy's control over the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence waterways. This water route provided the principle access to the rich fur country of the north and the west. For their part, the Kanienkehaka stood to benefit from the firearms they could obtain from the Dutch. Firearms were useful in settling the score with the French, with whom the Kanienkehaka were technically at war.

2. Sovereignty

The principle of noninterference between nations is one of the oldest principles of international law. There have been numerous instances of con-

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tact between native and non-native people where Euro-Americans have had to be reminded of this. One of the most striking examples can be found in the speech delivered by the Seneca, Canassatego. In the course of this speech, Canassatego was trying to show that recognition of sovereign rights implied a respect for the mode and manner of education practised by a people. For the Five or Six Nations to be truly sovereign, the nations of the Confederacy had to keep control of the content and means of the education of their youth:

> We know you highly esteem the kind of Learning taught in these Colleges, and the maintenance of our young Men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us Good by your Proposal; and we thank you heartily. But you who are so wise must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things; and you will not therefore take it amiss, if our Ideas of this kind of Education happens not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it. Several of our young People were formerly brought up in the Colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods, unable to bear either Cold or Hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged for your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia shall send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take great care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them. [2]

The Seneca, Red Jacket, delivered a similar reproach to John Cram, a missionary amongst the Seneca. In this case the issue was not education, but religion:

> Friend and Brother,
>
> It was the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet together this day. He orders all things, and has given us a fine day for our Council. He has taken his garment from before the sun, and caused it to shine with brightness upon us. Our eyes are opened, that we see clearly; our ears are unstopped, that we have been able to hear distinctly the words you have spoken. For all these favors we thank the Great Spirit; and Him only.
>
> Brother,
>
> This council fire was kindled by you. It was at your request that we came together at this time. We have listened with attention to what you have said. You requested us to speak our minds freely. This gives us great joy; for we now consider that we stand upright before you, and can speak what we think. All have heard your voice, and all speak to you now as one man. Our minds are agreed.
>
> Brother,

You say you want an answer to your talk before you leave this place. It is right you should have one, as you are a great distance from home, and we do not wish to detain you. But we will first look back a little, and tell you what our fathers have told us, and what we have heard from the white people.

Brother,

Listen to what we say. There is a time when our forefathers owned this great island. Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. The Great Spirit had made it for the use of Indians. He had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food. He had made the bear and the beaver. Their skins served us for clothing. He had scattered them over the country, and taught us how to take them. He had caused the earth to produce corn for bread. All this He had done for his red children, because He loved them. If we had some disputes about our hunting ground, they were generally settled without the shedding of much blood. But an evil day came upon us. Your forefathers crossed the great water, and landed on this island. Their numbers were small. They found friends and not enemies. They told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and had come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat. We took pity on them, granted their request; and they sat down amongst us. We gave them corn and meat, they gave us poison (alcohol) in return.

The white people had now found our country. Tidings were carried back, and

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more came amongst us. Yet we did not fear them. We took them to be friends. They called us brothers. We believed them, and gave them a larger seat. At length their numbers had greatly increased. They wanted more land; they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place. Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquor amongst us. It was strong and powerful, and has slain thousands.

Brother,

Our seats were once large and yours were small. You have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets. You

have got our country, but are not satisfied; you want to force your religion upon us.

Brother,

Continue to listen. You say that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the Great Spirit agreeably to mind, and, if we do not take hold of the religion which you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter. You say that you are right and we are lost. How do we know this to be true? We understand that your religion is written in a book. If it was intended for us as well as you, why has not the Great Spirit given to us, and not only to us, but why did he not give to our forefathers, the knowledge of that book, with the means of understanding it rightly? We only know what you tell us about it. How shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people?

Brother,

You say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spririt. If there is but one religion; why do you white people differ so much about it? Why not all agreed, as you all read the book?

Brother,

We do not understand these things. We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and has been handed down from father to son. We also have a religion, which was given to our forefathers, and has been handed down to us their children. We worship in that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the favors we receive; to love each other, and to be united. We never quarrel about religion.

Brother,

The Great Spirit has made us all, but he had made a great difference between his white and red children. He has given us different complexions and different customs. To you He has given the arts. To these He has not opened our eyes. We know these things to be true. Since He has made so great a difference between us in other things; why may we not conclude that He has given us a different religion according to our understanding? The Great Spririt does right. He knows what is best for his children; we are satisfied.

Brother,

We do not wish to destroy your religion, or take it from you. We only want to enjoy our own.

Brother,

We are told that you have been preaching to the white people in this place. These people are our neighbors. We are acquainted with them. We will wait a little while, and see what effect your preaching has upon them. If we find it does them good, makes them honest and less disposed to cheat Indians; we will then consider again of what you have said.

Brother,

You have now heard our answer to your talk, and this is all we have to say at present.

As we are going to part, we will come and take you by the hand, and hope the Great Spirit will protect you on your journey, and return you safe to your friends.[3]

As the Seneca approached the missionary to shake his hand, Cram rose hastily from his seat. He replied that he could not take this hand because there was no fellowship between the religion of God and the works of the devil. After this was interpreted to the Seneca, they smiled and left in a peaceable manner.

European People Have Usually Not Honored The Sovereignty Of Native People. Occasionally European people recognized the basic international and human rights embodied in the Two Row Wampum Treaty. John Marshall recognized these rights in his famous decision about the Cherokee while he was Chief Justice of the American Supreme Court. Marshall wrote:

> The Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil from time immemorial, with the single exception of that imposed by irresistible power, which excluded them from intercourse with any other European potentate then the first discoverer of the coast of the particular region claimed: and this was a restriction which those European potentates imposed on themselves, as well as on the Indians. The very term "nation," so generally applied to them, means "a people distinct from others." *4*

For the most part, however, European people did not honor the sovereign rights of native people. As events outlined in the previous chapter demonstrate, they arrived in North America either lost, sick or penniless. After being aided by native people, they claimed all of the land already occupied by the native nations of North America for their kings and queens. Why did these Europeans think and act in violation of basic principles such as those laid down in the Two Row Wampum Treaty?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to reexamine the differences in world view held by the Europeans and the native people of North America. Most native people, called themselves real people, or original people. Mohawk people still refer to themselves as the Onkwehonwe, or original people. At first, when the original people of North America met the people of Europe, they doubted whether the European was fully human. To the native, the European looked more like a kind of hairy ape rather than a human being.

The European likewise doubted that the native American was fully human. The reason for this was not so much in the way that the native looked, as the way that he lived. European people could not understand that native people could be completely human, while at the same time living in harmony

with nature. To the European, nature was something that should be conquered. To the native, nature was something to cooperate with.

The sermon by the Boston preacher Cotton Mather, already referred to in Chapter One, gives a good indication of the European view of native people and the land:

> Indians are animals. Animals do not own land. Therefore we, God's chosen people, must conquer the earth and subdue it, as the Bible directs, even if that particular piece of land happens to be inhabited by animals in human form (Indians).
> *5*

Recognizing Sovereignty Requires The Respect Of The Individual. Sovereignty is not only a concern between nations. Individuals of different cultures must recognize each other's sovereignty by respecting each other's culture. This is not always an easy thing to do. It depends a great deal on the openness and maturity of the individuals involved.

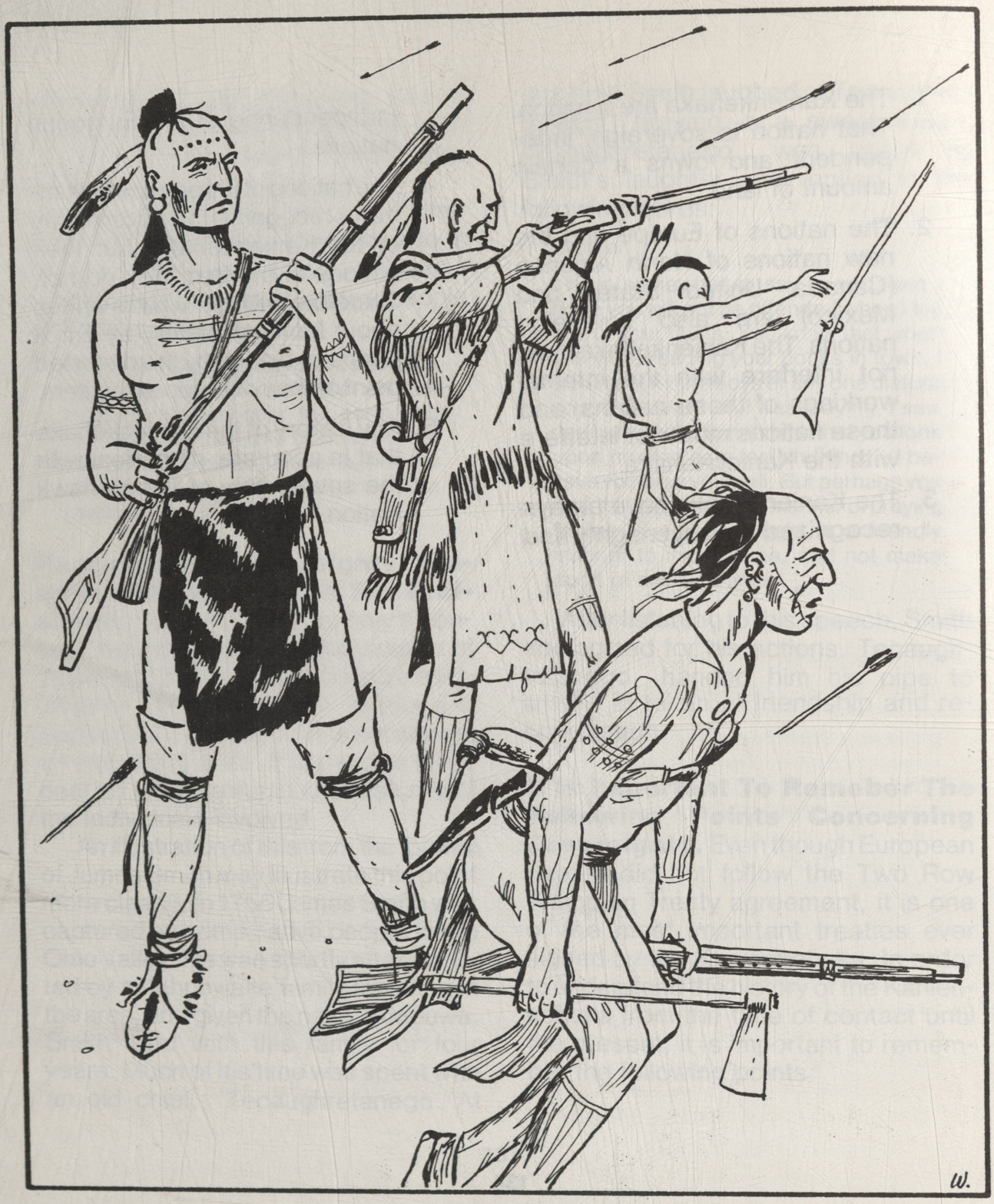
An illustration of this from the journal of James Smith may illustrate this point more clearly. In 1755 James Smith was captured by some native people in the Ohio Valley. He was shortly after adopted by a Kahnawake family traveling in the area, and given the name Scoouwa. Smith lived with this family for four years. Much of his time was spent with an old chief, Tecaughretanego. At one time Smith laughed at Tecaughretanego praying in a sweat lodge. Tecaughretanego was upset by Smith's laughter and replied in the following words:

> Brother,
>
> I have somewhat to say to you, and I hope you will not be offended when I tell you of your faults. You know that when you were reading your books in town, I would not let the boys or any one disturb you; but now when I was praying, I saw you laughing. I do not think that you look upon praying as a foolish thing; – I believe you pray yourself. But perhaps you may think my mode, or manner of praying foolish; if so, you ought in a friendly manner to instruct me, and not make sport of sacred things. *6*

After listening to this speech, Smith apologized for his actions. Tecaughretanego handed him his pipe to smoke in token of friendship and reconciliation.

It Is Important To Remeber The Following Points Concerning Sovereignty. Even though European people did not follow the Two Row Wampum Treaty agreement, it is one of the most important treaties ever signed by the Kanienkehaka. In order to understand the history of the Kanienkehaka from the time of contact until the present, it is important to remember the following points:

1. The Kanienkehaka are a nation. That nation is sovereign, independent and owns a certain amount of land.
2. The nations of Europe and the new nations of North America (Canada, United States and Mexico) are also sovereign nations. The Kanienkehaka must not interfere with the internal workings of those nations, and those nations must not interfere with the Kanienkehaka.
3. The Kanienkehaka have always recognized the sovereignty and independence of the European nations.
4. The nations of Europe have claimed to recognize the sovereignty of the Kanienkehaka, but their actions show that they do not. Therefore, much of what is written about Mohawk history by Europeans, is biased by the distorted point of view of European writers.
5. Any history of the Kanienkehaka that is accurate, must deal with the sovereignty of the Mohawk Nation.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Chapter 9
The Kanienkehaka In The Four Iroquois Wars

Before European people arrived in North America, most of the contacts that the Kanienkehaka had were with the other nations of the Confederacy, the northern Algonquin and the Mahican. All these nations tended to influence one another and borrowed ideas and skills freely from each other when it was beneficial to do so.

In Chapter Seven, it was mentioned that the Second Algonquin War was begun by the murder of several Mohawk hunters by the Algonquin. The Kanienkehaka were hunting with the Algonquin at the time. The elders of the Mohawk Nation had hoped that their hunters would learn some of the Algonquin hunting and tracking techniques. The intentions of the Mohawk and the Algonquin chiefs were good. They were hoping that their peoples would learn some of each other's skills. This is a good example of nations borrowing from each other. Unfortunately, in this case, the cooperation between different nations ended with murder and war.

Another example of nations borrowing ideas from each other is found in the spread of the Great Law. A number of nations besides the founding nations of the Confederacy came under the protection of the Great Law and respected its precepts. Other nations who did not seek the protection of the Great Law were influenced by its ideals in the formation of their own constitutions. This included the United States and Canada. Both these nations were influenced by the values of Iroquoian democracy.

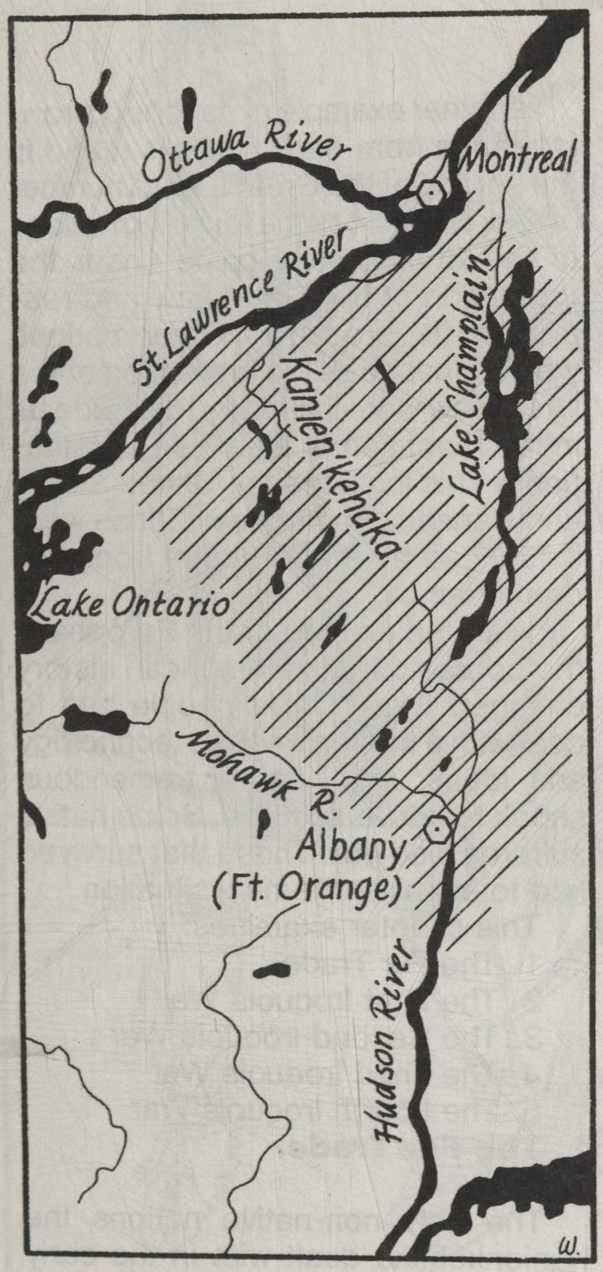
With the coming of the Europeans the course of native American history changed. Now native people had to deal with a foreign people, technology and ideas. This was a tremendous shock to native cultures. Some native cultures died out. Those that survived had to adapt to the new situation.

This chapter examines:

1. The Fur Trade
2. The First Iroquois War
3. The Second Iroquois War
4. The Third Iroquois War
5. The Fourth Iroquois War

1. The Fur Trade

The only non-native nations the Kanienkehaka dealt with in the early years of European contact were the Dutch and the French. Of these two

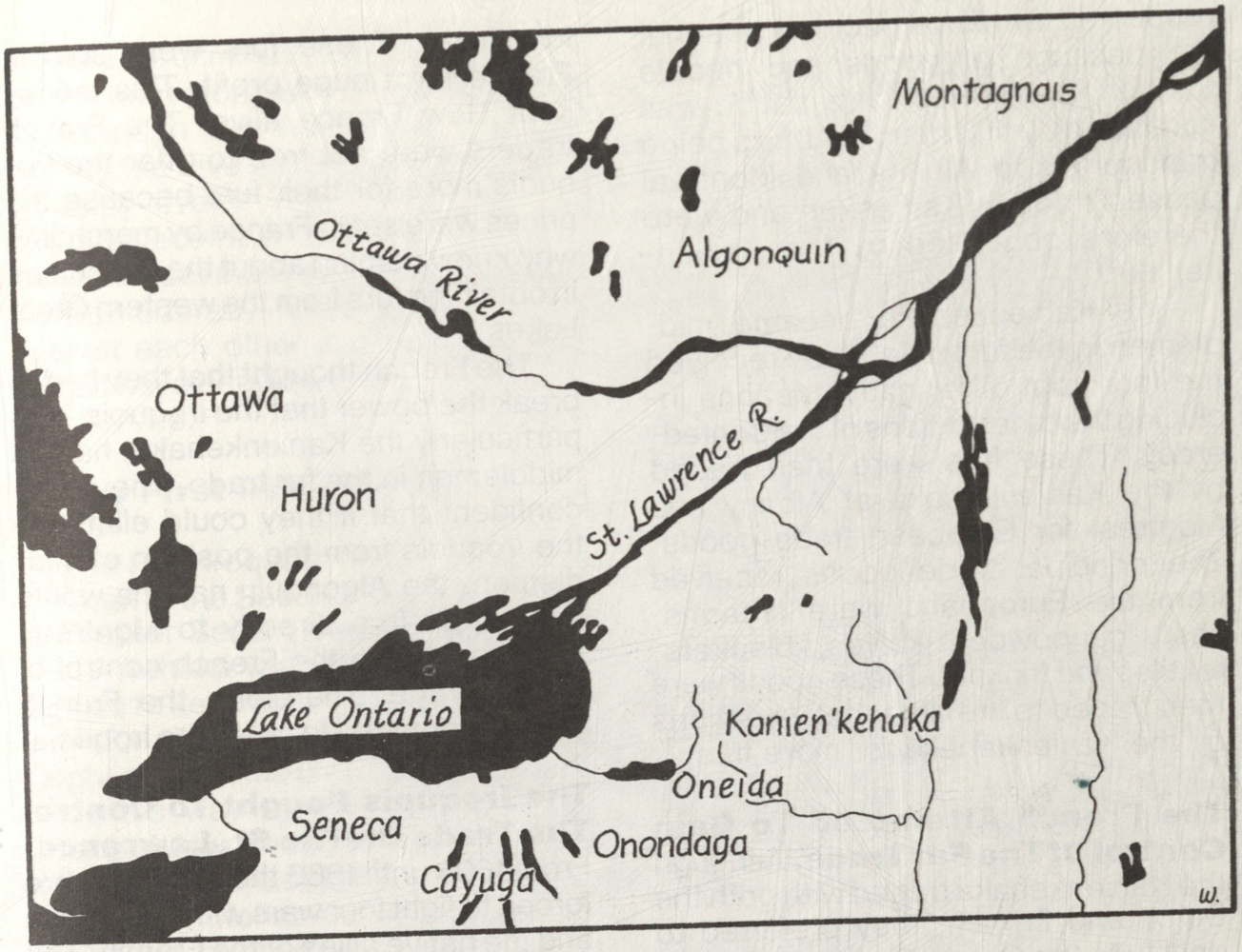


nations, the Kanienkehaka preferred dealing with the Dutch. They had entered into a treaty of friendship, the Two Row Wampum Treaty, with each other. From the Dutch, the Kanienkehaka could secure firearms to fight the French and native allies of the French. From the Kanienkehaka the Dutch could receive a steady supply of furs from the Great Lakes.

Both the Dutch and French were interested in making a profit from the fur trade. The Dutch and French lacked the skill and stamina to go out in the forest and locate, trap and treat furs. These nations preferred to purchase furs from native people. The most popular trapping areas were the territories around the Great Lakes. The very best furs came from the north shore of the lakes. Northern furs were thicker than southern furs. This made them more popular in Europe.

The Kanienkehaka Became Middlemen In The Fur Trade. Many of the fur trapping areas were outside of Iroquois territory. The major trading center of the Dutch was at Albany: that of the French at Montreal. These two settlements were within the traditional boundaries of Kanienkeh. This gave the Kanienkehaka an advantage over other native nations in trading with the Dutch and French.

A basic principle of sovereignty



The above map shows the territories occupied by and under the control of the major participants in the Iroquoian Wars.

Because they lacked the same protective borders of the other Iroquois Nations, the Kanienkehaka were forced to occupy the southern-most part of their territory during this time of conflict with their northern neighbors.

respected by native peoples was that the passage of goods and people through the territory of a nation was controlled by that nation. All furs being transported to Albany and Montreal passed through Kanienkeh and were therefore controlled by the Kanienkehaka.

The Kanienkehaka became middlemen in the fur trade. They received the furs from other native nations including the other nations of the Confederacy. These furs were then traded by the Kanienkehaka at Albany and Montreal for European trade goods. The principal trade goods received from the Europeans were firearms, shot, gunpowder, knives, blankets, textiles and trinkets. These goods were then traded to the other native nations by the Kanienkehaka for more furs.

The French Attempted To Gain Control Of The Fur Trade. Although the Kanienkehaka traded with both the Dutch and French, they preferred to deal with the Dutch. The prices of the Dutch traders were lower than the French. A gun costing three beaver pelts in Albany would cost six beaver pelts in Montreal. This difference in prices was true for all trade items.

The French needed furs to survive in New France. New France is what the French called their settlements along the St. Lawrence River and in the Maritimes. These furs were sold in France for a huge profit. This money kept New France alive. The French traders were not free to offer the Iroquois more for their furs because the prices were set in France by merchants who knew nothing about the difficulties in obtaining furs from the western Great Lakes.

The French thought that they had to break the power that the Iroquois, and particularly the Kanienkehaka, had as middlemen in the fur trade. They were confident that if they could eliminate the Iroquois from the position of middlemen, the Algonquin nations would bring their furs directly to Montreal. This would give the French control of the fur trade. Therefore, the French were determined to crush the Iroquois.

The Iroquois Fought To Control The Trade On The St. Lawrence. From 1608 until 1666 the Iroquois were forced to fight four wars with the French and the native allies of the French. The principle allies of the French were the Huron, Algonquin, Ottawa and Montagnais nations. These wars are referred to as the Iroquois Wars. The Iroquois were defending their rights to control the travel and trade on the St. Lawrence River. They expressed their right to trade with either the Dutch or French, and to accept or reject the prices that were offered for their furs. The French

wanted to eliminate the Iroquois and gain a total monopoly of the fur trade.

Although the Iroquois Wars were won by the Five Nations, they were an unhappy event. The French did not directly become involved in the wars, but rather set their native allies against the Confederacy. Native people fought against each other in a struggle that should have been fought by the French themselves.

2. The First Iroquois War

The First Iroquois War began as an offshoot of the Second Algonquin War. In Chapter Seven, it was told that the Kanienkehaka were fighting the Montagnais to keep the St. Lawrence River open for all trade. This war was being fought at the same time that Champlain made his way up the St. Lawrence River and down the area of Lake Champlain and Lake George.

Ignoring Mohawk sovereignty and the native methods of making war, Champlain and his men opened fire with three firearms on the Kanienkehaka and killed three of their chiefs. The Kanienkehaka lost the battle and were forced to retreat into the Mohawk Valley. Even though The Two Row Wampum Treaty between the Kanienkehaka and the Dutch was not made until 1645, the Kanienkehaka began trading furs to the Dutch for firearms as early as 1623. With these weapons the Kanienkehaka and the other nations of the Confederacy were able to drive back the Montagnais and defeat them in battle after battle.

The French Did Not Assist Their Montagnais Allies. It is interesting to note that even though the Montagnais were fighting for the French, the French did not give assistance to their native allies in the wars with the Kanienkehaka. The French were trying to get the Montagnais to establish villages in the vicinity of the French. This was to provide a buffer zone of defence to the French settlements. Missionaries were active among the Montagnais during these years. While some Montagnais accepted Christianity, others stayed with the traditional religious beliefs. This caused division within the Montagnais that made dealing with the Kanienkehaka even more difficult to do.

By April of 1637 the Montagnais had had enough. Defeated in battle by the Kanienkehaka, abandoned by the French to fight by themselves, and lacking the organization and allies to win the war, the Montagnais surrendered. They retreated from Mohawk territory and applied to the French for assistance. This event is reported in the Jesuit Relations of 1637. On April 27,1637 the Montagnais war chief, Makeabichtichiou, approached Father

Paul LeJeune at Quebec City asking for permission to establish a village under the protection of the French. When Makeabichtichiou approached Father LeJeune he said:

> We have two powerful enemies who are destroying us. One is our ignorance of God which is killing our souls: the other is the Iroquois who are slaughtering our bodies. [1]

With the surrender of the Montagnais the First Iroquois War came to an end.

3. Second Iroquois War

The Second Iroquois War was fought between the Five Nations and the Huron. The Huron were closer to the Seneca and Onondaga Nations. These nations supplied most of the warriors for the war, however some Mohawk warriors participated. The Huron are an Iroquoian people. They had much more in common with the Five Nations than with the Montagnais or other Algonquin nations. However, the Huron had refused to accept the Great Law and were avowed enemies of the people of the Confederacy.

The Huron were actually a confederacy of five nations all speaking the same language. These nations were the Attignawantan, Attigneenongnahac, Arendaronon, the Tahontaenrat and Ataronchronon. In 1608 a head chief of the Arendaronon was a man named Ochasteguin. Ochasteguin and some of his warriors were with Champlain when he and the Montagnais attacked the Kanienkehaka at Lake Champlain. This was the begin-

The above illustration is an artist's rendering of a Mohawk warrior. It is not considered highly accurate.

The above illustration shows the French and their allies attacking an Onondaga town. Here again the French lent gunpowder and guns to the conflict, while the Onondaga had no such weaponry.

ning of a struggle between the Iroquois and Huron called the Second Iroquois War. This was not a continuous war however. There were years of peaceful relationships between the fighting.

The Huron wanted to trade with the French without dealing with the Algonquin people. They sent messages to Champlain in 1611, and in 1615 made a treaty with him. Champlain had already decided to try to get the Huron to fight the Five Nations, and his plans were confirmed with this treaty.

From 1626 until 1638 the French sent missionaries amongst the Huron. During these years the Huron traded with the French and kept peaceful terms with the Five Nations. However, after the 1637 defeat of the Montagnais and other Algonquin, the French needed someone else to fight their battles and to try to eliminate the Confederacy. The French turned to their Huron friends and asked them to intercede.

The French Did Not Assist Their Huron Allies. Although the Huron were not at war with the Confederacy at this time, they were not friends of the Five Nations either. The Huron assumed that the French would help them in their fight with the Five Nations, but this was not to be the case. By the end of the Second Iroquois War, the Huron Nation was eliminated.

The Iroquois have often been charged with the massacre of the Huron people. Nothing could be further from the truth. A large portion of the Huron died from the European disease, smallpox.

From 1634 until 1640 the Huron villages were ravaged by a smallpox epidemic. This disease was not known to North America before the arrival of Europeans, and native people had not developed immunities against it. Smallpox hit the Huron strongest in the year 1639. By 1640 the population of the Huron was reduced by half.

Huron Society Was Divided. Most of the older Huron leaders died from the epidemic. After the disease was over, Huron society became divided into numerous factions. There was a traditional faction, a Christian faction, a faction that wanted to continue to trade with Europeans, and a faction that wanted nothing to do with trade. Crippled by disease and divided by factions, the Huron were not strong enough to fight the Five Nations.

By 1640 the Iroquois had learned to use European firearms. The Iroquois would charge the Huron battle lines, fire their guns at close range, and fall upon the Huron who were now dislodged from their positions. From 1640 until 1647 the Iroquois made war upon

the Huron in this fashion and won nearly every battle.

The Iroquois knew that the Huron were fighting because of the French. Even though the French lacked the courage to come out and fight their own battles, this did not stop the Five Nations from attacking French forts. In 1642 the Iroquois attacked a French fort at Quebec. Iroquois tactics consisted of charging up to the walls of the fort and firing through the loopholes.

By 1647 the Huron were receiving firearms from the French. Armed with these weapons, the Huron developed new battle techniques to deal with the Iroquois. When attacked by Iroquois warriors, the Hurons would form a crescent. Just before the Iroquois fired their guns, the Hurons dropped to the ground. After the Iroquois had discharged their weapons, the Hurons would rise, fire their own guns and charge the Iroquois.

In the winter of 1647-1648 the Huron leaders could not decide what to do about the Iroquois. They still had not received any support from the French and they knew that the fighting season would resume in 1648. As a divided people the Huron Nation had no hope for survival.

When the spring thaw of 1648 came, the Oneida and the Kanienkehaka jointly blockaded the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers. The Huron were trapped. The Cayuga, Onondaga and the Seneca entered into Huron territory with a large army of about 1000 warriors and destroyed several villages. The attacks by the Confederacy continued in 1649 and the last Huron strongholds were defeated. The Huron fled. Some went west, and some to the protection of the French at Quebec City. The Huron who remained behind in Huronia were adopted into the Confederacy.

4. The Third Iroquois War

French greed and cowardice had caused the destruction of the Montagnais and the Huron Nations. Rather than destroying the Iroquois Confederacy, the French were indirectly helping the Iroquois to become even more powerful. The lands of the Huron and the Montagnais, as well as their profits in the fur trade, were now the right of the Five Nations.

The French had not given up however. Neither had they developed the courage to fight the Iroquois themselves. In the Third Iroquois War the French managed to convince the Algonquin nations near the Great Lakes to take up the fight against the Five Nations. The Third Iroquois War actually began while the Second Iroquois War with the Huron was still in progress. The Algonquin wanted to trade

furs with both the French at Montreal and the Dutch at Albany. In order to trade with the Dutch, however, the Algonquin had to travel through Iroquois territory. Because of earlier instances of treachery by Algonquin people, the Kanienkehaka refused to give permission to the Algonquin to approach Albany. When the Algonquin attempted to do this, they were attacked and defeated by the Kanienkehaka.

The French Betrayed Their Non-Christian Algonquin Allies. In 1645 the French made peace with the Algonquin and the Iroquois. At the treaty council that included the Algonquin and the Iroquois, the French betrayed their non-Christian Algonquin allies by making some secret agreements with the Iroquois. The Algonquin were unaware of this secret dealing. The peace did not last however, and by 1649 the Iroquois and the Algonquin were once again at war.

The Algonquin were at a disadvantage in entering into a conflict with the Five Nations. The French had already demonstrated that they were not to be trusted as allies. The Huron had just been defeated. With that defeat the Algonquin lost their only supply of corn. By 1650 the Third Iroquois War was over, and the Algonquin were forced to seek the protection of the French.

5. The Fourth Iroquois War

With the Iroquois defeat of the Montagnais, the Huron and the Algonquin, the French were forced to deal directly with the Confederacy. The French had to either cooperate with or crush the Iroquois if the colony of New France was to survive. It would have been beneficial for the French to make peace with the Iroquois and to offer better terms of trade than the Dutch did in Albany. However, this did not happen.

The details as to how the Fourth Iroquois War began are not entirely clear. The French claimed that the war began in October of 1657 when a party of thirty Oneida attacked three French settlers near Montreal. The Kanienkehaka claimed that the war began when the French attacked and captured some of their men. In any event, the Kanienkehaka tried to make a settlement of peace with the French before a full scale war broke out. The Kanienkehaka asked that their brethren be freed from captivity, and agreed to forgive the French for their injuries to the Iroquois.

The French did not accept the peace offer by the Kanienkehaka. They treated the Mohawk delegates rudely and dismissed them. For their part, the Kanienkehaka had just one response. After two years of peace the war was on again. By 1660 the Five Nations had

La Fondation de Montréal date du 18 mai 1642

La première construction bâtie à Montréal était une sorte de palais situé où s'élève actuellement la nouvelle douane.

A. Le Fort, construit en 1645, était un quadrilatère régulier, avec quatre bastions en maçonnerie qui se flanquaient très bien. Cette fortification dont les courtines étaient en bois, mesurait 50 toises de front (300 pieds) et 2 toises de haut; l'intérieur contenait une chapelle, un hopital, des logements pour les colons et la garnison, on y trouvait aussi des magasins d'entrepôt, et près du Fort, on établit le premier cimetière (E.) ouvert à Montréal. Celui-ci fut fermé en 1672

B. L'Hotel Dieu fut fondé en 1642, à la Pointe à Callières. En 1644 on construisit cet Hopital sur les rues St Paul et St Sulpice, le premier bâtiment qui fut élevé à la jonction de ces rues avait 60 pieds de longueur par 24 de largeur

C. Résidence de Mr de Chomedey, Sr de Maisonneuve, premier Gouverneur de Montréal. bâtie en 1642 occupée en 1649 par quatre prêtres missionnaires du Séminaire St Sulpice de Paris qui arrivèrent à Montréal en 1657

D. Moulin à vent construit en 1643

Montreal was founded on the 18th May 1642

The first construction erected in Montreal was a palace to be seen up on the place where now stands the Custom House.

A. The Fort built in 1645 was in the form of a regular quadrilateral, figure with four stone bastions which were flanked by the other. This fortification had wooden curtains and measured 50 toises (300 feet) front and 2 toises in height. Inside the Fort were a chapel, an hospital and buildings for the colonists in addition to the garrison and stores. The first Cemetery of Montreal (E.) was opened near the Fort. The latter was concluded in 1672. B. The Hotel Dieu was founded in 1642 at the Pt. à Callières etc. Later the institution was transferred to a building constructed for the purpose at the corner of St Paul and St Sulpice streets. This was the first building erected on the spot, and its commencement 60 feet in length and 24 feet in width. C. Residence of Mr de Chomedey de Maisonneuve, first Governor of Montreal. Erected in 1642 and occupied in 1649 by four priests of the seminary of St Sulpice of Paris. D. Windmill built in 1643.

cut Montreal off from the valuable fur trade by blockading the Ottawa River. It was from the Ottawa River that all the furs reached Montreal. By the end of 1660 the town of Montreal was under siege. The French were forced behind its walls to find protection from the Iroquois.

The Iroquois managed to keep the French in Montreal until 1663. In 1663 a group of native allies to the French broke out of Montreal and attacked the Iroquois. The Iroquois were defeated in this battle. The reason for the Iroquois defeat is that the Five Nations were suffering from a smallpox epidemic. The Iroquois were eventually able to recover and drive the enemy back into Montreal.

King Louis Of France Sent De Tracy To Solve The Iroquois Problem. In this same year, 1663, the French king decided to become directly involved in the wars with the Iroquois. King Louis XIV appointed the Marquis de Tracy to the position of Lieutenant General of New France. De Tracy was told to take care of the Iroquois problem. He was ordered to bring the war into Kanienkeh, to kill all that he found, men, women and children, and to burn everything.

De Tracy arrived in Quebec in June of 1665. In a short time he was visited

Marquis de Tracy, the French commander who led his men in the French attack against the Mohawk Valley.

by two delegations; a Huron delegation and one Algonquin. Both these former enemies of the Confederacy put themselves under de Tracy's command and offered to help him in his fight against the Iroquois.

The Huron met de Tracy first and offered him six presents, each with a message attached:

1. The Huron spokesman lamented the wreck of their country and its inhabitants reduced to carcasses and bones by the Iroquois: only a pitiful remnant surviving. Raising their eyes with difficulty, the Hurons "saw on the river the ships that were bringing thee/de Tracy/and with thee, so many soldiers sent us by thy great Onontio and ours." The Huron speaker continued to express joy and

concluded his first word by offering a mooseskin, dressed and painted in native style.

2. With a second present, the Huron remarked that as de Tracy "had come to destroy the cruel Anthropophagi/Iroquois/and devourers of human beings he bore too much gentleness in his countenance; and so many charms as shone upon his person were not calculated to inspire fear in those man-eaters. Therefore they wished, at least for this war, to render this countenance forbidding, by clothing it in a blackness that makes terrible those who are painted with it." This alluded to the custom of warriors who paint themselves with colors especially black, and utter yells and cries to frighten their enemies.

3. The French soldiers should load these muskets so well that the noise of their discharge not only would panic their enemies but should travel back to Quebec as cannon-shots of victory.

4. As a fourth present, the speaker presented a girdle with which the French soldiers should fasten their garments in order to be agile when pursuing the naked enemy in the woods.

5. A fifth present warned the French that the strength of the Iroquois "was not the Iroquois themselves, but that their might resided in the large number of captives, – French, Huron, Algonquin, and those from other Nations, – who formed more than two-thirds of the Iroquois Nation and were compelled by the latter to bear arms against us." The speaker added that if the captives could be drawn against the Iroquois he, the Iroquois, "would fall to the ground like a tree whose roots have been cut, or like a mountain whose base had been undermined." He further declared that when the French army approached the villages of the enemy a demand for the release of all captives should be made to the Iroquois; failure to comply would result in violence. If the Iroquois delivered up their captives, the former would be defenseless. If the demand was declined, the French would use force and the prisoners of the Iroquois would side with the French.

6. The last present was to encourage the French army to face the difficulties of the route to the Iroquois and to attest its fidelity to the king. *2*

The Algonquin delegation was hunting when de Tracy arrived in Quebec. A short time after de Tracy had met the Huron, the Algonquin delegation came to Quebec and met de Tracy. A Christian Algonquin, Noel Tekouerimat, was their speaker. He offered nine presents, each with a message attached:

1. The Algonquins recognized the king of France as "Master of all the earth" and "rendered him the homage that all faithful subjects owe their Master".

2. They "regarded Monsieur de Tracy as the King's right arm, come to establish the country on a firm basis, and to revive the French and the Algonquin."

3. By means of four presents they "gave him suitable arms for fighting the Iroquois."

4. With the seventh present the war-fire was rekindled which had been nearly extinguished by so much bloodshed.

5. "The eight was to promote the continued firm union of the French and Algonquin Nations, because, without mutual understanding, the conquest of the Iroquois would be too difficult and very uncertain. Besides, as they were both Christian peoples, they were fighting for the same cause and ought to act in concert, having both one and the same and in view– the destruction of the Iroquois and the publication of the Gospel."

6. With the ninth and last gift, Noel Tekouerimat caused the attending Algonquin chiefs to step forward whom he presented that they might march and attend de Tracy "on the expedition that he was about to undertake". *3*

de Courcelles, the French commander who led his troops to defeat against the Iroquois.

The Kanienkehaka Defeated De Courcelles' Expedition. De Tracy decided to send two major expeditions against the Kanienkehaka. The first was led by Daniel de Remy, Seigneur de Courcelles. De Courcelles' army consisted of about 500 men. He left on January 30, 1666 for Kanienkeh and the heart of the Mohawk Valley. De Courcelles expected to be led by Algonquin scouts, but they had gotten drunk and did not show up. The French left without their guides and by February 14 were sixty miles from the Mohawk Valley.

The Kanienkehaka had received warning of the French attack from a delegation of Oneida and Onondaga who had been in Quebec City discussing terms of peace with the French. The Kanienkehaka were able to pull away from the advancing French army and draw them into the heart of Kanienkeh where the French would be cut off from their supplies and lines of communication with Quebec. When the French army reached the area around Schenectady, they were surrounded by the Kanienkehaka and defeated. De Courcelles was forced to march back to Quebec in the winter without any provisions and with very little protection. The Kanienkehaka followed him all the way and harassed

his army until they reached the St. Lawrence River. De Courcelles was humiliated by the Kanienkehaka. After his defeat he began to plan with de Tracy how to return to Kanienkeh in the following summer and bring about the defeat of the Kanienkehaka.

The French Misinterpreted The Mohawk Request For Peace As A Sign Of Weakness. Even though the Kanienkehaka had badly defeated the French in the 1666 expedition, they sent representatives of the Oneida Nation to Quebec to see if the French were interested in signing a treaty of peace. De Tracy was interested and he set out to talk with the Oneida. He also wrote to the Dutch in Albany to see if the Dutch thought the Kanienkehaka were seriously interested in making peace. The Dutch replied that the Kanienkehaka were seriously interested in talking peace with the French.

Here de Tracy made a mistake in judgement that was to cost the French dearly 100 years later. De Tracy misunderstood the Kanienkehaka. To the Mohawk way of thinking they, the Kanienkehaka, had won the battle against the French. De Courcelles knew this, and so did de Tracy. However, whenever native people showed an interest in peace, the Europeans misinterpreted this as a sign of weakness. This was a constant problem in Native-European relations. De Tracy took the Mohawk message for peace as a surrender. He then started to construct forts along Lake Champlain, well within Kanienkeh.

The Kanienkehaka attacked these forts, to let it be known that such an invasion would not be tolerated. The Kanienkehaka then sent another delegation to the French to resume peace talks. A member of this delegation, a Mohawk war chief by the name of Agariata, was captured and killed.

De Tracy Invaded Kanienkeh. On September 6, 1666 de Tracy resolved to invade Kanienkeh. His army consisted of 600 soldiers from the Carignan-Salières regiment, 600 French settlers and 100 Huron and Algonquin natives. Having completed all arrangements for the intended war, the expedition left Quebec on September 14, 1666, and prepared to rendezvous at Fort Sainte Anne on September 28. Because some troops failed to arrive at the appointed place on the determined date, de Tracy was unable to proceed with the main body of the army before October 3. However, de Courcelles was impatient to reach the intended objective. He set out some days in advance with 400 men. The commanders of Fort St. Louis and Fort Assumption were to start with a rear guard four days after Monsieur de

Tracy. Boats, in the number of 300, had been provided. Of these, a part were very light boats and the rest canoes of bark, each of which carried, at the most, five or six persons. When necessary, the boats and canoes were carried. The greatest difficulty was the transportation of two small cannons which were taken along to bombard the Mohawk villages.

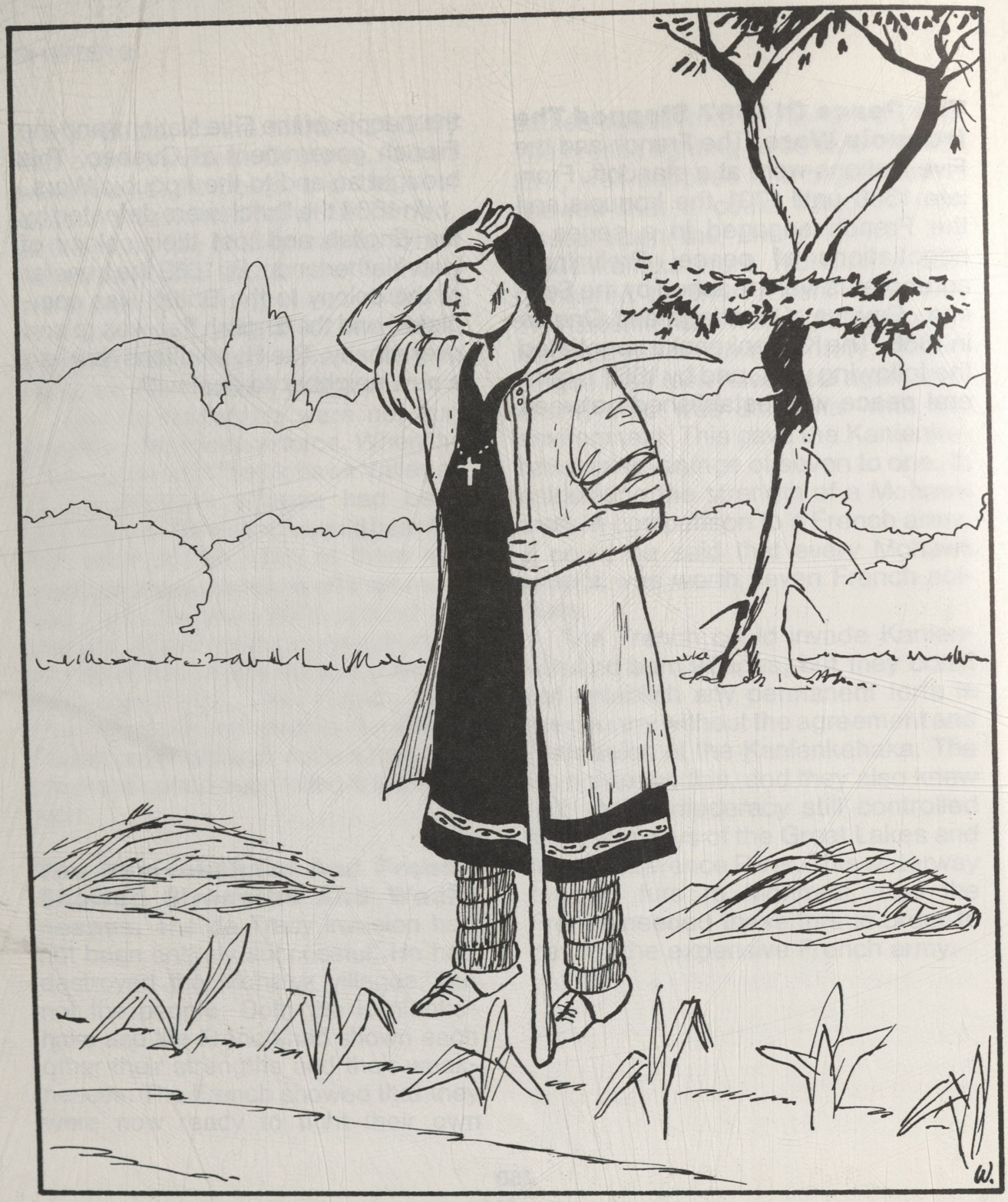
The Kanienkehaka were not surprised by this invasion force. When the French arrived in the Mohawk Valley all of the Mohawk villages had been abandoned. The French could hear the Kanienkehaka shouting at them and making noises, shooting off their muskets, from the mountains around the villages. All of the villages were burned and all of the cornfields and supplies were destroyed. The French then claimed all of Kanienkeh for the king of France, even though not a single Kanienkehaka had been killed in the invasion.

The Kanienkehaka And French Showed Strengths And Weaknesses. The de Tracy invasion had not been entirely successful. He had destroyed the Mohawk villages, but not the people. Both the Kanienkehaka and the French had shown each other their strengths and their weaknesses. The French showed that they were now ready to fight their own battles without the help of native allies. The French fighting force was impressive, well supplied and organized. It showed that it could inflict serious losses upon the Five Nations. The Kanienkehaka were technically outnumbered by the French. However, the Kanienkehaka were fighting a guerrilla war in their own territory, according to their own rules, and against an enemy who was unfamiliar with the environment. This gave the Kanienkehaka an advantage of seven to one. In calculating the strength of a Mohawk army in comparison to a French army, it could be said that every Mohawk warrior was worth seven French soldiers.

The French could invade Kanienkeh and burn villages, but they could not establish any permanent forts in the country without the agreement and permission of the Kanienkehaka. The French knew this, and they also knew that the Confederacy still controlled the waterways of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River. This waterway brought furs to Montreal, and the French needed these furs in order to pay for the expensive French army.

The Peace Of 1667 Stopped The Iroquois Wars. The French and the Five Nations were at a standoff. From late 1666 until 1701 the Iroquois and the French engaged in a series of negotiations of peace. Preliminary agreements were reached by the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga and Oneida in 1666. The Kanienkehaka negotiated the following year, and by 1667 a general peace was established between the people of the Five Nations and the French government at Quebec. This brought an end to the Iroquois Wars.

In 1664 the Dutch were defeated by the English and lost their colony of New Netherlands. By 1669 the transfer of the colony to the British was completed and the English flag was raised over Albany. The Five Nations now had a new neighbor to deal with.



Chapter 10
The Kanienkehaka And The Peace Of 1667

With the Peace of 1667, trade between the Five Nations and the French was reestablished. The Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga and Oneida had been more eager to establish a peace with the French than had the Kanienkehaka. It was easier for these four western nations to deal with the French at Montreal than with the Dutch or English at Albany. The four western nations were at this time fighting the Susquehannock Nation, south of the territory of the Five Nations. They could not afford to fight a two front war, one with the Susquehannock and one with the French.

The Kanienkehaka entered into the Peace of 1667 cautiously. They were not convinced of the sincerity of the French. The Kanienkehaka doubted that the French truly cared about respecting the sovereignty of the Iroquois people. In addition, the Kanienkehaka were not fighting the Susquehannock. The Susquehannock were not a threat to the Eastern Door of the Confederacy. The Kanienkehaka were therefore not involved in a two front war. There was, however, one great advantage for the Kanienkehaka in making peace with the French. The Kanienkehaka could now resettle the northern part of their territory.

This chapter discusses:

1. The Resettlement Of Northern Kanienkeh
2. Kentake
3. Kahnawake

1. The Resettlement Of Northern Kanienkeh

The territory of Kanienkeh stretched from Montreal island to the Mohawk River. It included the Green Mountains of Vermont, the Connecticut Valley of Vermont, the Lake Champlain Valley and the Adirondacks. Westward, the Kanienkehaka were in possession of vast hunting grounds all the way west to the Schoharie Creek.

Because of the years of war with the French and their allies from 1608 until 1667, the Kanienkehaka had not occupied their full territory. Ordinarily, settlements would have been located along the St. Lawrence where Akwesasne now stands, by the rapids on the St. Lawrence River near the old site of Hochelaga, along Lake Champlain and along the Mohawk River. In 1667 all of the Mohawk people were located in

the southern part of their territory along the Mohawk River.

There Were Three Reasons For Resettling Northern Kanienkeh. Now that peace was established with the French, it was possible for the Kanienkehaka to reoccupy their national territory. There were three reasons for resettling the northern territory. These reasons were political, economic and religious.

Politically, the Kanienkehaka would be stating their claim to all 9 million acres of their national territory. If they did not do this, valuable land would have eventually been taken from them by either the French or the native allies of the French.

Economically, the Kanienkehaka would become the middlemen in the French fur trade at Montreal. The Kanienkehaka were already middlemen in the English fur trade in Albany. Having control of the flow of furs into both Albany and Montreal would be very profitable to the Mohawk Nation.

Religiously, the Kanienkehaka would be close to Catholic priests. During the Iroquois Wars, many of the people defeated by the Kanienkehaka were adopted into Mohawk families. This was particularly true of the Iroquois peoples who lived around the northern shores of the Great Lakes. These included the Petun, Neutral, Erie and Huron. Many of these nations had had contact with French missionaries, and individuals and converted to Catholicism.

Adopted Captives Were Full Members Of The Mohawk Nation. These adopted captives were full members of the Mohawk Nation. They had been through a ceremony washing away their former nationality. After the ceremony, they were given new names belonging to one of the three Mohawk clans. A description of a Mohawk adoption ceremony is found in the journal of James Smith's captivity:

> At length one of the women made out to speak a little English (for I believe they began to be afraid of me) and said, no hurt you; on this I gave myself up to their ladyships, who were as good as their word, for though they plunged me under water, and washed and rubbed me severely, yet I could not say they hurt me much.
>
> These young women then led me up to the council house, where some of the tribe were ready with new cloths for me. They gave me a new ruffled shirt, which I put on, also a pair of leggins done off with ribbons and beads, likewise a pair of mockasons, garters dressed with beads, Porcupine-quills, and red-hair– also a tinsel laced cappo. They again painted my head and face with various colors, and tied a bunch of red feathers to one of these locks they had left on the crown of my head, which stood up five or six inches. They seated me on a bear

skin, and gave me a pipe, tomahawk, and polecat skin pouch, which had been skinned pocket fashion, and contained tobacco, killegenico, or dry sumach leaves, which they mix with their tobacco, – also spunk, flint and steel. When I was thus seated, the Indians came in dressed and painted in their grandest manner. As they came in they took their seats and for a considerable time there was a profound silence, every one was smoking, – but not a word was spoken among them. – At length one of the chiefs made a speech, which was delivered to me by an interpreter, – and was as followeth: – "My son, you are now flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone. By the ceremony which was performed this day, every drop of white blood was washed out of your veins; you are taken into the Caughnawago nation, and initiated into a warlike tribe; you are adopted into a great family, and now received with great seriousness and solemnity in the room and place of a great man; after what has passed this day, you are now one of us by an old strong law and custom – My son, you have now nothing to fear, we are now under the same obligations to love, support and defend you, that we are to love and to defend one another, therefore you are to consider yourself as one of our people." – At this time I did not believe this fine speech, especially that of the white blood being washed out of me; but since that time I have found that there was much sincerity in said speech, – for, from that day I never knew them to make any distinction between me and themselves in any respect whatever until I left them. – If they had plenty of cloathing I had plenty, if we were scarce we all shared one fate.

After this ceremony was over, I was introduced to my new kin, and told that I was to attend a feast that evening, which I did. And as the custom was, they gave me also a bowl and wooden spoon, which I carried with me to the place, where there was a number of large brass kettles full of boiled venison and green corn. *1*

Fr. Jogues Made A Fatal Mistake. Late seventeenth century Mohawk people realized that it was possible to belong to the Mohawk Nation, and yet adopt a way of worshipping the Creator that was different from the ways of their ancestors. It was difficult, however, for traditional and non-traditional people to live in the same village. The Kanienkehaka had had some very bad experiences with the Jesuit Fr. Issac Jogues, and many were distrustful of the Jesuits.

The source of this distrust went back to 1642 when Fr. Jogues was captured by the Kanienkehaka. He was adopted by a Mohawk family in the village of Osseronon. There he preached the Christian gospel to the Mohawk people. The Kanienkehaka admired Fr. Jogues' courage for preaching what he believed. They were not, however, very interested in what he had to say. Fr. Jogues made the mistake of telling the people that if they did not listen to him, a terrible fate would befall

them. Probably what Fr. Jogues meant was that if the people did not become Christian, they would suffer in hell. Fr. Jogues was a dedicated man and truly believed this.

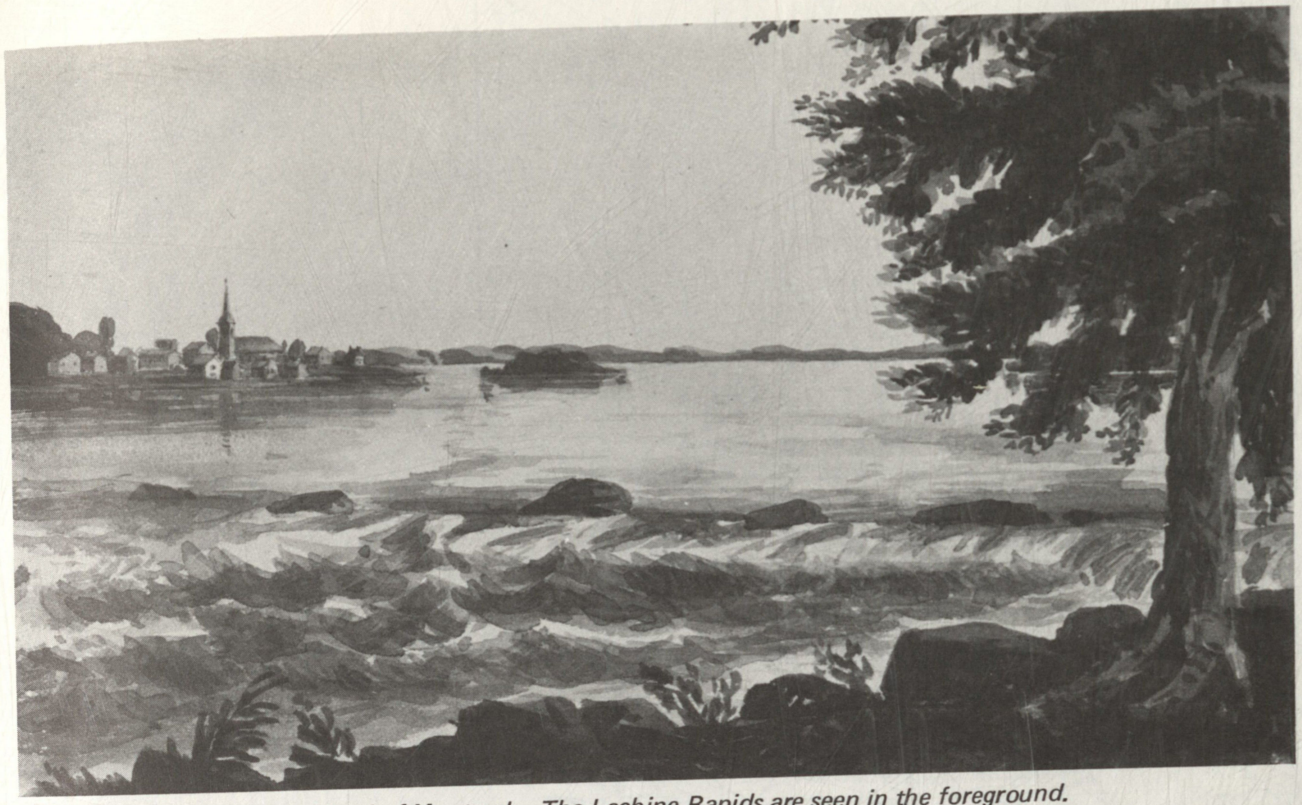
The Kanienkehaka took Fr. Jogues's warning as a threat. Fr. Jogues spoke and acted much like a magician or a witch. People were starting to think that they had made a mistake in adopting him. Finally, Fr. Jogues ran away from the Kanienkehaka and set sail for France. He left behind a small black box, however, containing his mass instruments. Soon after Fr. Jogues left, an outbreak of smallpox hit the Kanienkehaka. They believed it was because of Fr. Jogues' prediction and the black box. A peace treaty was made between the Kanienkehaka and French in 1645. Father Jogues was assigned to return to the Mohawk village that had adopted him. When he returned to Osseronon in 1646, he was killed by the Kanienkehaka.

Fr. Jogues mistake was to predict suffering for the Kanienkehaka. When smallpox hit Kanienkeh, Fr. Jogues was blamed even though he was innocent. Fr. Jogues knew of this danger and felt fairly certain that if he returned to Kanienkeh he would be killed. When he did return and was killed, bad feelings arose between the Kanienkehaka and the Jesuits.

2. Kentake

By the time of the Peace of 1667, there were Catholic Kanienkehaka in Kanienkeh. These Catholics needed priests to see to their spiritual needs. The French agreed to send missionaries into Kanienkeh. Two Jesuits were sent on this mission. They found it difficult to lead a Catholic congregation in the Mohawk villages. The traditionalists in these villages had very strong feelings against the Catholic faith. On the other hand, the Catholics in these villages had very strong feelings for their new faith. These feelings upset the harmony of village life. For this reason it became necessary for the missionaries to leave the Mohawk Valley. Now the Catholic Kanienkehaka were once again without priests. The Catholics decided that it was necessary to establish a Mohawk settlement for Catholic Kanienkehaka close to the French. That way they would be able to get priests, and at the same time safeguard the northern fringes of Mohawk territory.

The First Iroquois People At Kentake Were Oneida. The resettling of Kanienkeh took a few years. The first two settlers in northern Kanienkeh were an Oneida couple,



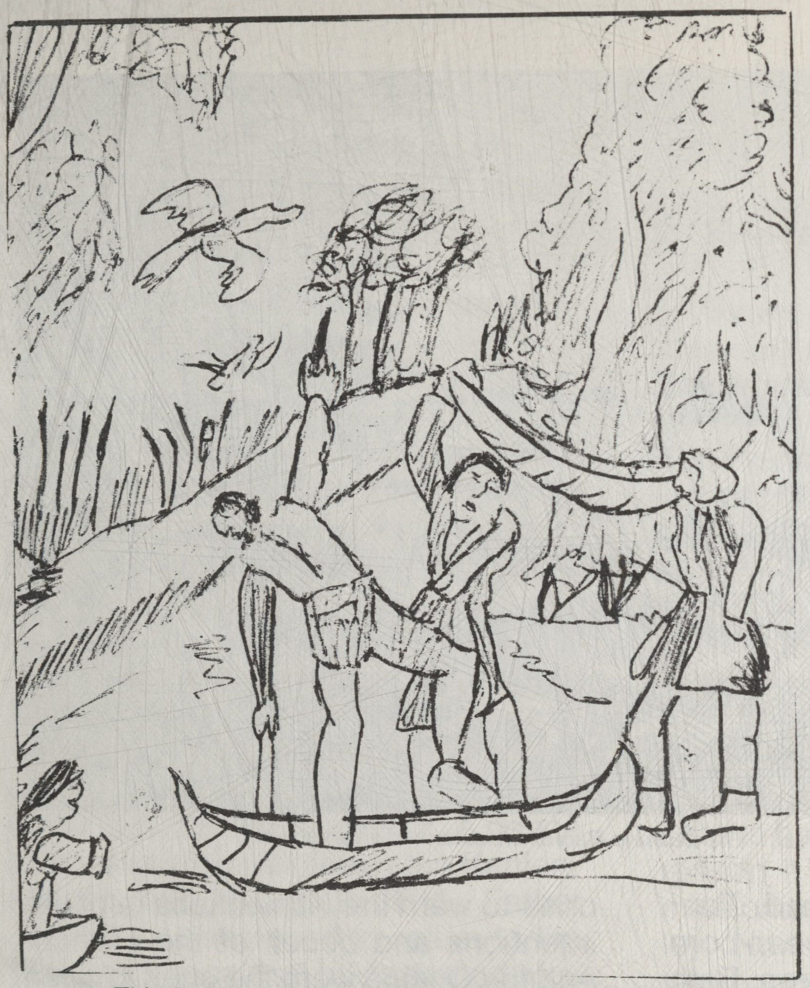
Kentake, as seen from the island of Montreal. The Lachine Rapids are seen in the foreground.

Gandeakteua and her husband, Tonsohoten. Gandeakteua had been born an Erie, and Tonsohoten a Huron. Both had been adopted by the Oneida. Why were an adopted Oneida couple negotiating for the return of the Kanienkehaka to northern Kanienkeh?

The Kanienkehaka did not fully trust the French. Several Mohawk ambassadors of peace had been captured by the French, put in chains or executed. At the close of the Iroquois Wars, the Oneida became bargaining agents for the Kanienkehaka. The Oneida were the ones to open up negotiations with the French at the opening of hostilities with de Tracy. The Oneida were the ones to warn the Kanienkehaka of the intentions and deceit of the French. And the Oneida were the ones to open negotiations with the French for the Mohawk resettlement of the northern territory.

Gandeakteua and Tonsohoten arrived in northern Kanienkeh in the autumn of 1667. Accompanying this couple were Gandeakteua's mother and stepfather and three other Oneidas. Tonsohoten was taken to Montreal to be treated for a case of gout which had bothered him for years.

After Tonsohoten was cured and the band of travelers had rested, they journeyed to Quebec to negotiate with



This drawing was made in the late seventeenth century. It shows Mohawk men at Kentake, preparing to depart on a duck hunting expedition.

the French. Some Hurons had moved to the vicinity of Quebec after being defeated by the Confederacy. Tonsohoten had relatives in the Huron village. The Oneidas stayed with these Hurons. From all accounts described in the Jesuit Relations the visit was a peaceful one.

Finally, this party of Oneidas traveled back to the northeastern region of Kanienkeh and settled at Kentake near Montreal. Kentake is the traditional Mohawk word for the area around present day Laprairie, Quebec. Kentake means "by the fields", a reference to the fact that much of the Kentake area had already been cleared for farming in earlier years by the Kanienkehaka. At Kentake, the Oneida band settled in with some Jesuit priests, the Jesuits had built a house there as a resting place for their old priests.

A contemporary drawing of Mohawk women working in the fields around Kentake. The woman in the right rear of the picture seems to be collecting birds eggs.

By the spring of 1669 the Oneidas had planted corn, established a village and made a few trips to the trading posts of Montreal. The settlement was growing, and would soon be able to receive more members from the settlements to the south.

The French At Kentake Discriminated Against The Native People. There was one problem with the Kentake settlement. There were French families living there. These families had settled at Kentake when the Jesuits built their rest home. The native people at Kentake were discriminated

against by these French families. When the people went into the church either for a religious service or for a public meeting, the native people were made to stand in the back of the church. When all of the French people had taken a seat, the native people were then allowed to sit down. The services and meetings were in French and not in a native language. In many ways the Iroquois were regarded as visitors in their own territory.

From 1667 until 1676 the native population of Kentake increased. The newcomers were primarily Kanienkehaka and Onondaga. However, native people from other nations also settled at Kentake. The land around Kentake was fertile and grew great quantities of corn, beans and squash. On a typical day in the spring, summer or autumn, the community woke at five in the morning. The women served a communal meal, and then went out to care for the fields. The men worked on the repair and construction of dugout canoes, the bartering with western nations for furs and the defense of Kanienkeh.

These years were marked by relative peace in the northern part of the territory. In the south the Kanienkehaka were at war once again with the Mahican. The warriors from the north occasionally joined their southern kinsmen in the defense of the southern territory.

Despite the success of Kentake and the wealth of the settlement, the Kanienkehaka, Oneida and Onondaga at Kentake were not altogether happy. The settlement had grown to a size of almost 200 by 1673. The Iroquois of Kentake were concerned that they had not set up a traditional form of government. Such a step was necessary in order for Kentake to participate in the affairs of the Confederacy at the Grand Council at Onondaga. The most numerous native group living at Kentake were the Kanienkehaka. The settlement itself was within Kanienkeh. If the native community organized itself under a tradional form of Iroquois government, Kentake would become part of the Mohawk Nation.

Kentake Became Part Of The Mohawk Nation. In 1673 the Iroquois of Kentake had a community meeting. They decided that the time had come to establish a government based upon the way of the Great Law of Peace. The Iroquois people at Kentake needed chiefs in order to be represented at the council of the Mohawk Nation. Kentake was not yet large enough to have a full contingent of chiefs. The people chose two chiefs and two men to watch over the education of the people. The two chiefs were called "captains" by the Jesuits. One

was a pine tree chief and the other a war chief. The two men charged to care for the education of the people were called "dogiques" by the Jesuits. These men followed the role of faith-keepers. With the choosing of these representatives Kentake became officially a Mohawk settlement.

The Jesuits completely misunderstood what was happening at Kentake. They were impressed with the Iroquois' sense of civic responsibility and ability to organize. The Jesuits did not completely understand that these talents were traditional Iroquois traits. They were not something that the Iroquois had picked up from the Catholic Church.

The Huron And Algonquin At Kentake Decided To Move Elsewhere. The Huron and Algonquin living at Kentake did not want to accept the Great Law and become part of the Confederacy. They took this as a threat to their sovereignty. They knew that Kentake was now a Mohawk settlement. They did not wish to become adopted into the Mohawk Nation and decided to leave. Without any hard feelings, the Huron and Algonquin people moved in 1673 and established a settlement on the island of Montreal near the old site of Hochelaga. They wished to remain at peace with the Kanienkehaka. In 1667 they sent a peace belt to the Kanienkehaka asking to remain friends.

The Mohawk council had a couple of problems to deal with at Kentake. The French traders wished to establish a tavern in the community. The Kanienkehaka knew that if the French sold them cheap brandy, they would be cheated out of their furs. In addition, the Kanienkehaka were regarded as second class citizens by the French residents at Kentake. Therefore the Mohawk council of Kentake decided to move the settlement to another location near the Tortue River. This move was made in 1676.

3. Kahnawake

The new village was called Kahnawake, after the name of another village in the Mohawk Valley. The Governor of New France, Frontenac, did not want the Kanienkehaka to leave Kentake. He wanted the Kanienkehaka to be in close contact with the French, to intermarry with them and to eventually become subjects of the King of France. The Kanienkehaka had no intention of obeying the Governor.

The Jesuits wanted to avoid a confrontation between the Governor of New France and the Kanienkehaka. The Jesuits agreed with the Kanienkehaka that the best thing to do was to move. The Jesuits knew the French traders wanted to cheat the Kanienke-

Poling canoes up the Lachine Rapids. The presence of the rapids made the western native territories secure from attack by European warships.

haka. They also regarded the Kanienkehaka, both the traditional people and the Catholics, as living a more Christian way of life than the French. The Jesuits admired the way that the Kanienkehaka worked together and shared everything they had with the needy. This was preferable, the Jesuits thought, than the French custom of accumulating wealth. This left French society with very rich and very poor people.

One last event that further prompted the Kanienkehaka to remove themselves from Kentake was the outbreak of smallpox at Kentake in late 1675 and 1676. This disease was transmitted by contact with carriers, almost always Europeans. Native people were particularly susceptible to the disease.

Whole nations could be reduced in half (as with the Huron) if the people did not take some precautions. The best precaution was to limit the amount of time spent around Europeans, who were the carriers of the disease.

The Proclamation Of King Louis XIV Prevented Confrontation With Governor Frontenac. Thus in 1676 the people moved from Kentake to Kahnawake. Jesuits were afraid that this move would cause a confrontation between the Kanienkehaka and the French Governor Frontenac. In order to avoid any confrontation, the Jesuits sent a representative, Fr. Fremin, to the court of King Louis XIV to obtain an order demanding that Frontenac guarantee the right of the Kanienkehaka to move to Kahnawake. Fr. Fremin made his journey in 1679. He received verbal assurances from the King. The following year these assurances were put in writing. King Louis' proclamation read as follows:

> Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, to all of whom
>
> Presents shall come, – GREETING:
>
> Our dear and Well-Beloved, the Ecclesiatics of the Company of Jesus residing in la Nouvelle France, having very respectfully caused to be represented to us, that the lands of the Prairie de la Magdelaine, which have been conceded to them, are too swampy to be cultivated and procure them the means to support the Iroquois who are established there, and as it is to be feared that they might withdraw therefrom, were we not pleased to grant them the land called the Sault, containing two leagues of frontage, beginning at a point opposite the Rapids of St. Louis, ascending along the lake in similar depth, also two Islands, Islets and the Beach, lying opposite and adjoining the lands of the said Prairie de la Magdelaine, which enable them not only to hold back the Iroquois, but also to augment their number and propagate more extensively the faith and the gospel.
>
> Therefore, desirous of contributing to the conversion and instruction of the said Iroquois and to act favourably towards the said Petitioners, We have them and we do give them by these Presents, to which we have affixed our sign Manual, the said piece of land called the Sault, containing two leagues of frontage, commencing at a point opposite the St. Louis Rapids, ascending along the lake in similar depth, with two Islands and Islets and the beach lying opposite and adjoining the lands of the said Prairie de la Magdelaine, on the condition that the said tract of land called the Sault will revert to us all cleared, when the said Iroquois will leave it. Granting permission to all those whoever it may please to do so, to convey rings, knives, or any kind of peddlar's ware, forbidding and prohibiting the French who may reside with the Iroquois or any other Indian Nation, and who may establish themselves on the said tract of land, called the Sault, to have any cattle, or

establish any inn in the village, which the Iroquois may erect on the said tract of land.

We hereby order our loved and loyal Conseil Souverain of Quebec, and to all our other officers of justice, whom these Our Presents, Letters of Grant, or of Concession may concern, to have the same read and registered and the contents of which the said Petitioners to be made to enjoy and make use of, free of all troubles or hindrances which may at present or hereafter exist to the contrary, for such is our pleasure.

In Testimony Whereof we have caused our Seal to be hereunto affixed.

Given at Fontainbleau this twenty-ninth day of May, in the year of Grace one thousand six hundred and eighty, and in the thirty-eighth of Our Reign, signed Louis by the King Colbert.

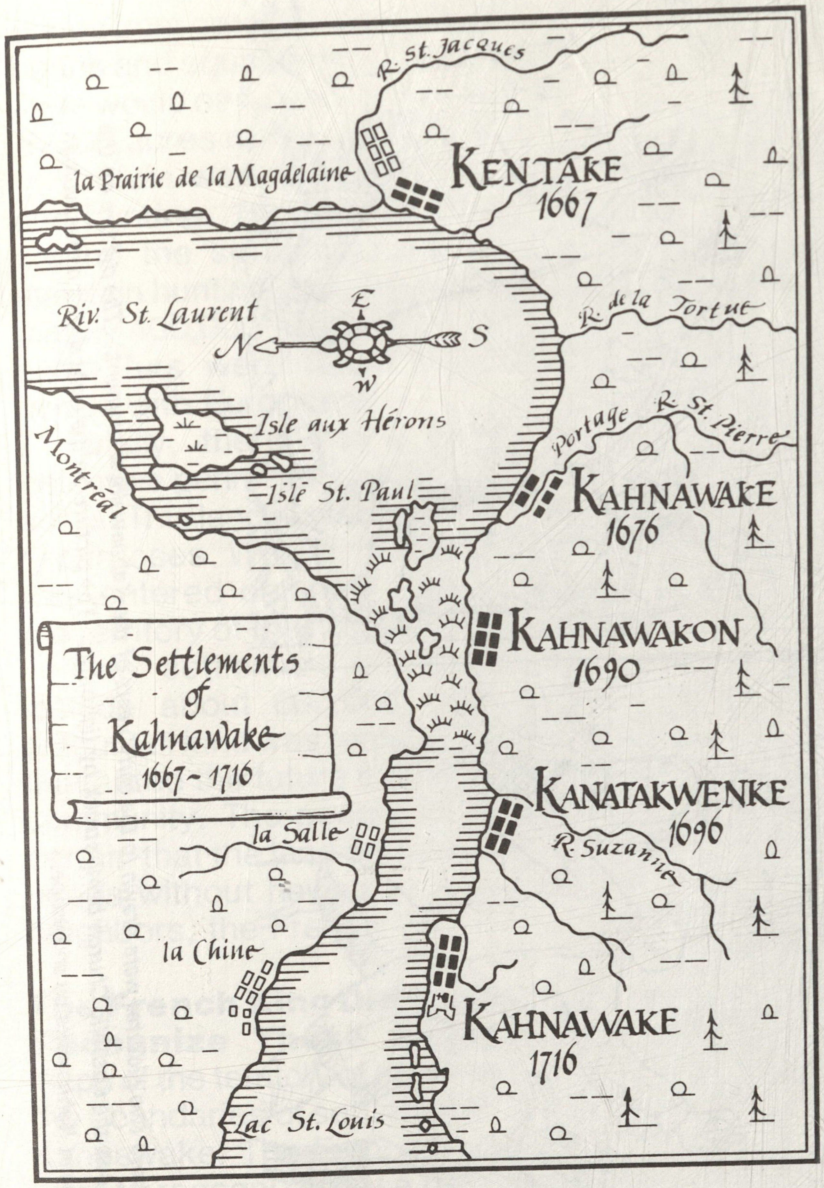
This day the above Letters Patent have been registered at the Greffe Souverain of Quebec according to its decree of this day's date, to enjoy and make use of the said Grantees of the contents therein mentioned at Quebec the 24th October, 1680, signed Peuvret. *2*

It is important to point out that it was the Jesuits and not the Kanienkehaka who made the petition to King Louis. The Seignorial Title that King Louis granted to the Jesuits guaranteed that the lands of Sault St. Louis (Kahnawake) would remain in the possession of the Kanienkehaka for all time. King Louis failed to realize that the lands were already the property of the Kanienkehaka. This grant by itself did not make the occupation of Kahnawake legal. The occupation of Kahnawake was legal because it lay within Mohawk territory. The proclamation of King Louis only prevented a confrontation between the Kanienkehaka and Governor Frontenac.

How Much Land Did A Mohawk Settlement Require? The question of the exact boundaries of Kahnawake has remained a problem since the time of the establishment of Kahnawake in 1676. In order to answer this question, one should ask, what is it that a settlement expected from its territory. How much land would be required in order to support these needs?

First of all, people need a place to live. They need room to set up homes, public buildings and public throughways. The amount of land reserved for these purposes must take into effect the growth of the community through childbirth, and through new members coming from other communities. In the early 1700's the amount of land used for these purposes was around twenty acres.

After the land for habitation has been reserved, including space for expansion, land is needed to support the food source. People need both carbohydrates and protein in order to live. They usually get their carbohy-



The present day site of LaPrairie.

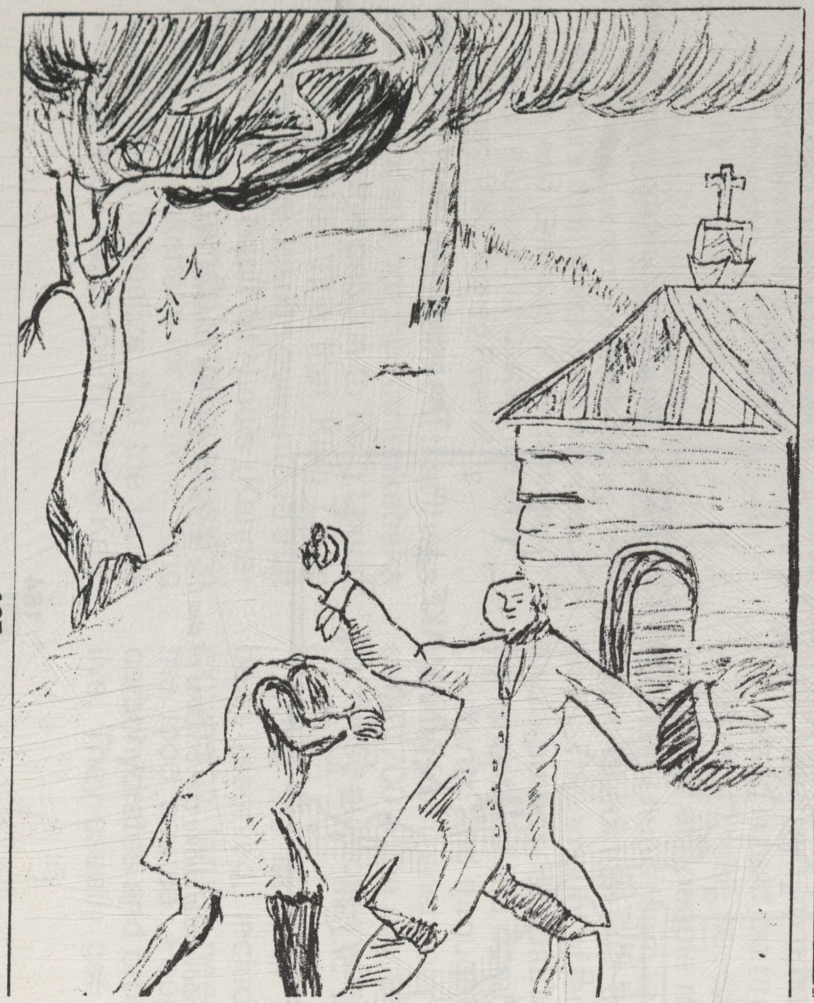
Present day site of the eastern boundry of Cote St. Catherine.

Present day site of Cote St. Catherine.

The site of the Kahnawake Survival School.

The present day site of the village.

The above map shows the locations of the five settlements of the Mohawk after 1667.



The above two pictures were drawn in the early years of the Kahnawake settlement. The picture on the left shows the Catholic Church being struck by lightning. The picture on the right shows native women arriving at Kahnawake by snowshoe.

drates from garden crops such as corn, beans and squash. With crop rotation, there would be a need for approximately 15,000 acres of land for garden crops.

Protein was obtained from fishing and hunting. The amount of acreage around the settlement necessary to maintain hunting grounds was approximately 400,000 acres. From this land some furs were taken to trade for goods with Europeans.

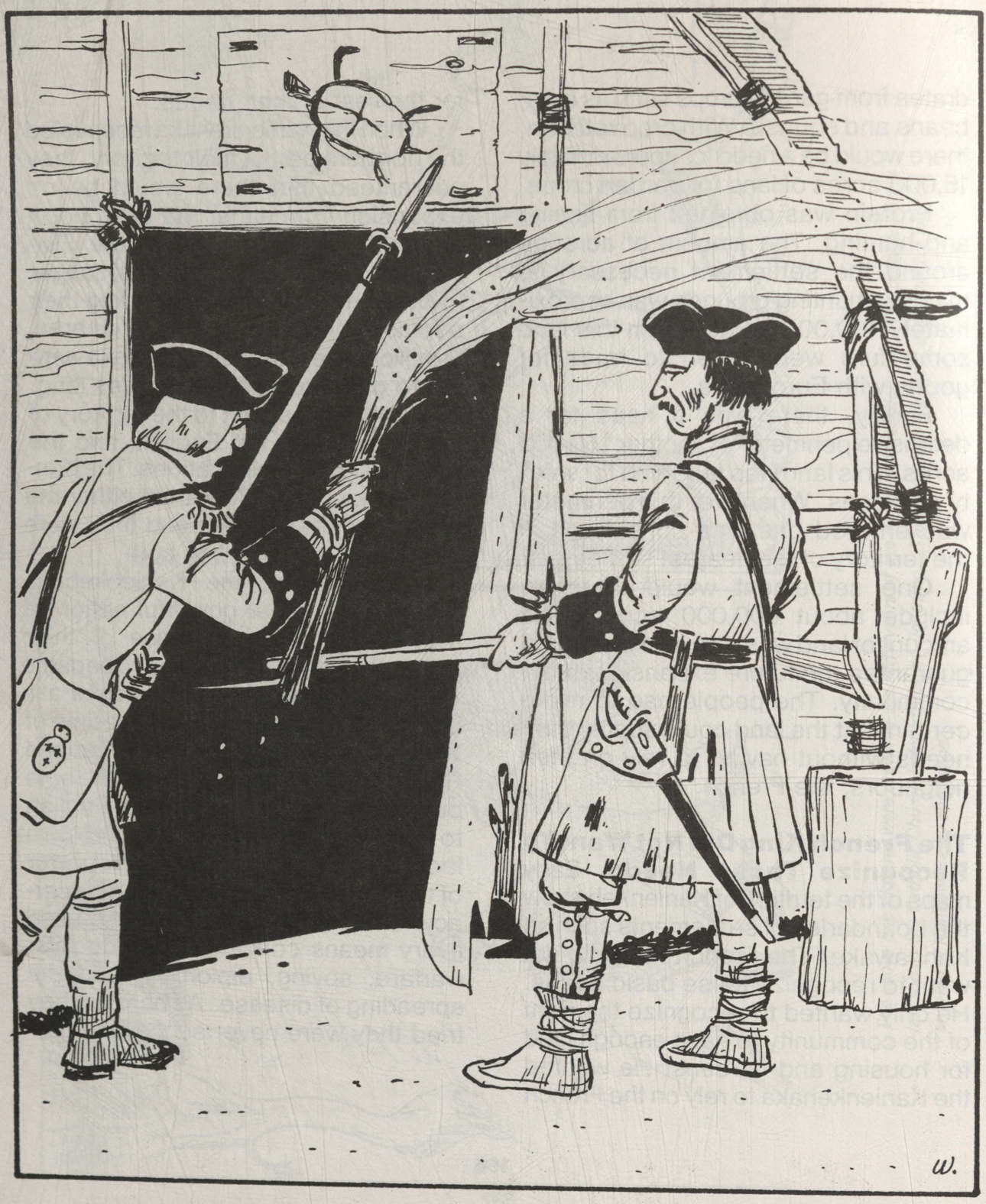
Finally, there was a need for a defensive perimeter of another 150,000 acres. This land was reserved for safety purposes. Whenever this perimeter was entered one was considered in the territory of the nearest settlement.

One settlement would therefore include about 600,000 acres. This amount of land was required in order to guarantee the future expansion of the community. The people had to make certain that the land could supply their needs without having to rely on their neighbors, the French.

The French King Did Not Want To Recognize These Needs. Early maps of the territory of Kanienkeh show the boundaries of settlements such as Kahnawake. The French King did not want to recognize these basic needs. He only wanted to recognize the right of the community to have enough land for housing and gardens. He wanted the Kanienkehaka to rely on the French for the rest of their needs.

When the Kanienkehaka reoccupied the northern part of their territory, they guaranteed that there would be no expansion from either the east, north or south into the lands of the Five Nations. There was a serious danger involved, however. By spreading their population out over such a large area, 9 million acres, the Kanienkehaka were left to guard a border 700 miles long. This border was next to the territory of the French and the English, and the native allies of these nations. The Kanienkehaka did not fully trust either the French or the English, and they were now close neighbors to both.

Nevertheless, the Kanienkehaka became the most powerful nation of the Confederacy. Because of their strength, the Confederacy became the most influential and powerful alliance in North America. From the time of 1676 until the time of the American Revolutionary War, it became the sole purpose of the French and the English to split the Mohawk Nation into two factions. This would cripple the power of the Kanienkehaka and the Confederacy. The French and the English used every means conceivable to do this: warfare, spying, diplomacy and the spreading of disease. As hard as they tried they were never successful.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Chapter 11
Treacheries Against The Kanienkehaka

In 1665, the western nations of the Confederacy made peace with the French. The Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga and Oneida were at war with the Susquehannock. They did not want to take on the French at the same time. By 1676, the Susquehannock were no longer invading Iroquois territory. The Iroquois could now turn their attention to the northern part of their territory.

This chapter looks at:

1. The Defeat Of De La Barre
2. Denonville's Treachery
3. The Covenant Chain
4. The Peace of 1701

1. The Defeat Of De La Barre

Since the arrival of de Tracy in North America the French had shown greater confidence. They began to establish forts in the western parts of Algonquin land. By 1676 the French were penetrating into the territory of the Five Nations. The Five Nations responded by attacking the Algonquin nations that supported the French. In 1680 the Iroquois attacked the Miami and Illinois. These two nations together with the Wyandot, petitioned the new Governor of New France, Joseph-Antoine de La Barre, to come to their aid.

De La Barre replaced Count Frontenac in 1682. His instructions were to invade the territory of the Five Nations. In May of 1683 the Iroquois sent an army of five hundred warriors west to defend the western territory of the Five Nations. The Iroquois sent a delegation of 43 chiefs to the French in August to try to make peace. De La Barre listened but showed no interest in negotiating peace. He saw this as an opportunity to finally crush the Iroquois.

Kahnawake Guides Led De La Barre Into An Ambush. De La Barre planned to leave Quebec with a force of 900 men to attack the Confederacy. Before leaving, de La Barre seized a Seneca peace delegate and two members of his family. This treachery outraged the Five Nations. Under the direction of the Onondaga and with the cooperation of the Kahnawake Kanienkehaka, a surprise was planned for de La Barre.

De La Barre asked the Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake to lead his men into the heart of Five Nation territory.

The French governor assumed that the Kahnawake Kanienkehaka were more loyal to the French than to the Confederacy. This became a fatal mistake. The Kahnawake guides led de La Barre right into the middle of a surprise ambush organized by the Onondaga and the Seneca.

The Iroquois told the French to lay down their arms. Then a council circle was formed made up of alternating members of de La Barre's camp and chiefs of the Confederacy. The council was presided over by the Onondaga chief Big Mouth and de La Barre.

While de La Barre made his speech, Big Mouth stood at the opposite end of the council circle and said nothing. He did not show any emotion. He spent all of his time gazing at the end of his pipe. Big Mouth knew that de La Barre was at a disadvantage. De La Barre had been surrounded, and there was no way that the French could escape the trap.

After de La Barre had made a ridiculous speech insisting that the Iroquois surrender to the French, Big Mouth made a couple of circles around the council. He walked slowly and eyed each of the delegates. The French were visibly nervous. The Iroquois showed no emotion whatsoever.

Big Mouth told the French that the French would have all been killed if the war chiefs had not held back the warriors. Big Mouth explained that the French had brought this war upon themselves by supplying the enemies of the Five Nations with guns, and by marching an army into Iroquois territory. Big Mouth warned the French that the old men of the Five Nations were not afraid of making war.

The Iroquois Said They Will Trade With Whoever They Please. The French tried to tell the Iroquois that they should trade only with the traders at Montreal. The Iroquois responded by saying:

> We are born free. We depend neither upon the Governor of Quebec, nor the Governor of New York. We may go where we please and carry with us whom we please. We may buy and sell what we please. If your allies be slaves to you, use them as such. *1*

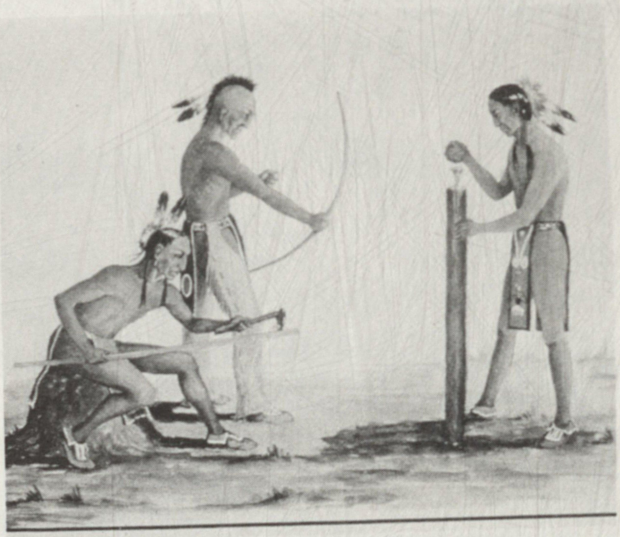
De La Barre had failed in two ways. His instructions from the King of France were to:

> ...diminish as much as possible the numbers of the Iroquois, and moreover, as these savages are very strong and robust, they will serve usefully in my galleys as slaves. I want you to do everything in your power to make a great number of them prisoners of war, and have them sent to France. *2*

2. Denonville's Treachery

Because of de La Barre's failure, he

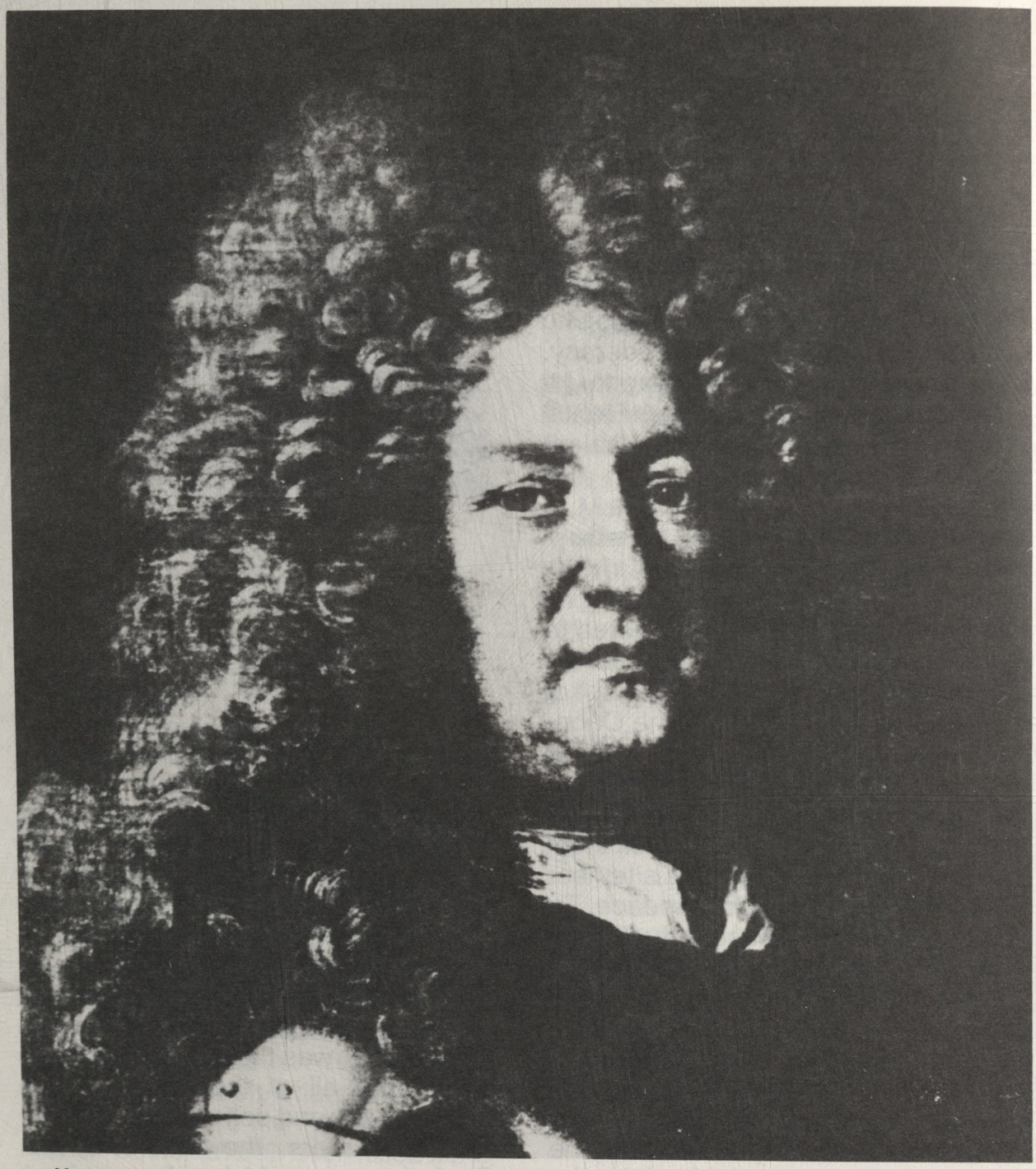
was replaced in 1685 by the Marquis de Denonville. Denonville was given the same instructions as de La Barre. He was told to kill as many Iroquois as possible, and to capture some of their men in order to place them in the French galleys as slaves. In 1686 Denonville drew up his plan for trapping all of the leaders of the Confederacy. In order to make this plan work, he needed the support of the French Jesuit, Fr. Lamberville, and the Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake.



Denonville Tricked Fr. Lamberville And The People Of Kahnawake Into This Plan. Denonville told Fr. Lamberville that he wanted to make peace with the Five Nations. Fr. Lamberville was respected by most of the Iroquois and especially the Onondaga amongst whom he had lived. He had no idea of Denonville's real intentions. Denonville asked Fr. Lamberville to go to the Five Nations and ask them to send representatives to a site near Lake Ontario for a council of peace. Fr. Lamberville was pleased that there was finally going to be peace. He agreed to take the mission to the Onondaga.

Denonville then spoke to the Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake. He repeated the lie about peace that he had told Fr. Lamberville. He then asked the Kanienkehaka to lead him into the country of the Five Nations. The people of Kahnawake were glad that peace was finally going to come between the French and the Confederacy. Trade depended upon peace and Kahnawake depended upon trade. About 100 men from Kahnawake agreed to accompany Denonville to the council of peace.

What Denonville did not tell either of the people of Kahnawake or Fr. Lamberville, was that he was planning to capture all of the chiefs of the Confederacy and sell them as slaves. Without leaders, the nations of the Confederacy would be disorganized



Marquis de Denonville.

and fall to the armies of the French. Denonville did not care that Fr. Lamberville was still living among the Iroquois and that his life would be endangered. Denonville also did not care that he was betraying his allies, the Kahnawake Kanienkehaka.

When the Iroquois arrived at the council of peace, sixty men were seized by Denonville. Sixteen were sent to France as galley slaves, the rest were put into French prisons in Quebec. Without any leadership the Five Nations were helpless against the attack of Denonville's army.

Denonville's army marched into Seneca country. The Seneca knew that he was advancing. They burned their own villages, rather than let them fall into the hands of the French. Denonville left a contingent of 100 men to construct and garrison a fort at Niagara Falls and returned to Quebec.

The Confederacy Assumed That Kahnawake Had Worked For The French. Denonville's treachery did not stop here. He continued to capture chiefs on missions of peace and either enslaved them or had them killed. The Confederacy assumed that the Kahnawake Kanienkehaka were working with the French. The Grand Council was not aware that Denonville had deceived the Kahnawake guides and Fr. Lamberville.

Finally, in 1689 the Iroquois were reorganized and able to take an offensive position against the French. Most of the Confederacy still thought that the people of Kahnawake had been aware of Denonville's treachery. The warriors from the Confederacy made plans to attack both Kahnawake and Montreal. The people of Kahnawake were forced to move within the walls of Montreal for one year, until the misunderstanding with the Confederacy could be cleared up.

Traditionally the Iroquois did not engage in total warfare. They did not destroy whole villages of men, women and children. This was an element introduced in North America by men such as the Marquis de Denonville. When the Iroquois made war on Montreal in 1689, they did so in the European manner. An army of 1500 Iroquois attacked Montreal Island. An Algonquin village was attacked first. The Iroquois attacked Lachine, burning it to the ground and totally destroying its fort in two days. The Iroquois then marched on Montreal.

Denonville Lost His Courage. With an army to stand up against, Denonville lost his courage. He stayed within the walls of Montreal and refused to enter into the battle against the Iroquois.

The Iroquois had once again defeated the French and were in a position to

bargain with them for the return of their chiefs. Denonville's capture of the chiefs is often referred to as Denonville's Treachery. Denonville was a traitor to the Jesuits, to his allies and to the Iroquois.

Denonville was not the only traitor in these years. Another man, a Kanienkehaka by the name of Kryn, engaged in warfare against his own people. Kryn was called the Great Mohawk by the French. He was called the Great Mohawk because he did great things against his own people for the French.

The French were not satisfied with the destruction of the Seneca. They also wished to destroy the Kanienkehaka. A plan was devised whereby the French would send a force down the shores of Lake Champlain to the Mohawk Valley, and another force by way of the Oneida River. The French hoped through this plan to destroy the Kanienkehaka, Oneida and Onondaga. Both forces were unsuccessful. The force going down Lake Champlain was led by Kryn. Kryn was killed, supposedly by accident, by one of the Algonquin allies of the French.

3. The Covenant Chain

During these same years the English at Albany tried to persuade the Kannienkehaka to join them in a number of expeditions against the enemies of the English colonies in New England. Big Mouth had made the position of the Confederacy very clear to the French at the time of de La Barre's surrender to the Confederacy. This position was that the Confederacy was neither a subordinate of the English nor of the French. The Iroquois were an independent people with ties to both nations but subservient to neither.

In order to understand this relationship and the treaties between the Confederacy and the English and the French, an examination of the covenant chain would be helpful.

The Kanienkehaka had made the Two Row Wampum Treaty with the Dutch. This treaty outlined the relationship of sovereignty that the Confederacy was to have with European nations. The Europeans were to respect the Five Nations and the Five Nations were to respect the culture and customs of the European nations. Both the nations of Europe and the Confederacy could conclude alliances of commerce and military support for one another. But, they did not fall under each other's domination.

The Principles Of The Two Row Wampum Treaty Were Reaffirmed In The Covenant Chain. When the English took over from the Dutch at Albany in 1664, the basic principles of the Two Row Wampum Treaty were

reaffirmed through what is called the covenant chain. The covenant chain is a term applied to the relationship of the Iroquois and the English, and eventually the Iroquois and the French. It was a way of peacefully dealing with misunderstandings about land, military alliances and trade.

The very reference to a chain was symbolic. There was other symbolic language used in the covenant chain. For example, the Iroquois referred to the English as brothers in the covenant chain. The Mahican were also in the chain, but they related to the English as father. The Mahican were in a subservient relationship to the English. The Iroquois were the equals of the English.

When meetings of the covenant chain alliances were held, the governor of New York gave commands to the Mahican. To the Iroquois he presented requests. If the governor of New York or the governer of Quebec tried to give orders to the Iroquois, the Iroquois reminded the governors of Iroquois sovereignty. They were not subject to the whims of either the French or the English.

The covenant chain also included nations of the Ohio Valley and the northern part of the Great Lakes who were in alliance with the Iroquois. Some of these nations came into the covenant chain because they were defeated by the Iroquois. Many, such as the Shawnee, moved from their original territory in order to enter into the covenant chain with the Confederacy and the European nations.

The Iroquois had to respect the sovereignty of the native nations who were part of the covenant chain. Sometimes the Iroquois forgot this and demanded warriors from allied nations to help them in their battles. These nations usually ignored these demands and reminded the Iroquois of their own sovereignty. They were not subject to the dictates of the Confederacy.

Nations could enter or leave the covenant. There were no restrictions placed on nations in this respect. The covenant chain was simply a method of insuring that peace was kept.

The Europeans Did Not Fully Understand The Covenant Chain. The idea for the covenant chain was thought up by native people, not by Europeans. The covenant chain represents a modern idea about treaty making that the Europeans did not fully understand. Because of this, some misunderstanding and arguments occasionally broke out between the Confederacy and the Europeans. For example, the French assumed that if the Five Nations made a treaty of peace with the French, they would not make a similar treaty with the English. The

English assumed that if the Five Nations made a treaty with the English, they would not make a similar treaty with the French. When the French claimed that the nations of the Confederacy were subjects of the King of France, the English responded by saying that the Iroquois were a free and sovereign people. The English did not really think this way. They also claimed the Iroquois as subjects of the King of England.

Both the French and the English

misunderstood the real nature of sovereignty and the meaning of the covenant chain treaties. Therefore, most of the books and speeches written by Europeans in the seventeeth and eighteenth centuries are written from a position of misunderstanding. In order to really understand what was happening in these years, it is necessary to go to the records of the Five Nations.

The Iroquois Held The Following Position Regarding The French and English. The Confederacy had the following position concerning its relationship with the French and English. This position did not change, despite what the English and the French claimed:

1. The Five Nations were a united people. They reserved for themselves the right to make agreements and to enter into alliances without restriction.

2. The nations of the Confederacy were not the subjects of either the King of England or the King of France.

3. The territory of the Confederacy was not to be claimed by either the King of France or the King of England. The land of the Confederacy could only be sold by the duly appointed representatives of the nations of the Confederacy.

4. Members of a nation belonging to the Confederacy could not join with either the French or the English in attacking another nation of the Confederacy. They could join with either the French or the English only when the conflict did not put one Iroquois against another.

5. When the covenant chain was renewed, the Iroquois people were to be treated as equals in all negotiations. The language of the agreements reflected this equality as did the terms of the agreements.

The covenant chain was renewed from time to time. At these times, a belt of wampum was passed between the two parties who stated their intentions to brighten the chain. At first the symbolic language of the covenant chain said that the chain was made of iron. Later on this language was changed from an iron chain to a silver chain. Iron rusts, but silver is easy to keep clean, the Iroquois said.

In symbolic language, the covenant chain was anchored in Albany. This was the site of the original Two Row Wampum Treaty. From Albany the chain spread across the territory of the Confederacy. When one nation was in trouble, all it had to do was shake the covenant chain. The other nations would all come to its aid.

4. The Peace of 1701

By 1701 the French were ready to accept the terms of peace with the Iroquois. Denonville's Treachery had backfired. Denonville was recalled to France and Count Frontenac returned to New France to assume control of the affairs in the colony.

Frontenac was no more honest than Denonville. In 1698 Frontenac ordered the murders of a delegation of Onondaga. This delegation was on its way to discuss peace negotiations with the French. The leader of this peace delegation was a well-known Onondaga warrior, Black Kettle. He and his men were treacherously ambushed by the French and their Algonquin allies. Black Kettle was wounded. As he lay dying he said to his Algonquin killer, "Must I who made the whole earth tremble before me, now die by the hands of children?"

The Iroquois had helped the English in many of their expeditions. Now the covenant chain was rattled and the sound was heard throughout the territory of the Confederacy. The whole Confederacy cried out for revenge and justice. The English were told by the Kanienkehaka that the time had come for them to offer assistance to the Confederacy against the French.

Delegations were sent to Kahnawake and preparations were made to force the French to negotiate a peace. Frontenac was getting old and frail. He did not want to talk peace. Instead, he planned an invasion against the Onondaga. The people of Kahnawake were aware of Frontenac's plans and warned the other Iroquois. The plan was never carried out, however, as Frontenac died in late 1698.

A map decoration publicizing Frontenac's campaign against the Iroquois (which took place in 1696, not 1695). It reads: "Count Frontenac, Governor of New France, wanted to force the Iroquois to make peace with our [Indian] allies. This great captain, at the age of seventy-four, went into their country with an army of two thousand men, both French and Indian. When the army went over the portages, our Indian allies carried him in his canoe in triumph. The terrified Onondaga and Oneida abandoned their villages and their harvests, which were burned and reduced to ashes. This expedition forced the Iroquois to ask for peace, which was granted to them in the following year by Callière, Frontenac's successor."

27.
EXPEDITION CONTRE LES IROQUOIS
en 1695.
Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac Gouverneur de la Nouvelle France voulant
obliger les Iroquois a faire la paix avec nos Alliez ce grand Capitaine
agé de 74 ans entra dans leur Pays avec une armée de
2000. hommes tant francois que sauvages. lorsque l'Armée passoit
des Portages, les sauvages alliez le portoient dans son Canot
en triomphe les Onnontaguez et les Onejouts effrayez abandonerent
leurs Villages et leurs recoltes qui furent reduits en cendre. cette
execution obligea les 5. Cabanes des Iroquois a demander la paix
qui leur fut accordée l'année suivante par
Mr de Callieres successeur de
Monsieur de Frontenac.
27.

The Five Nations Welcomed The French Into The Covenant Chain. Finally on August 4, 1701 all of the nations of the Confederacy traveled to Montreal where they signed a treaty of peace and friendship with the French. They welcomed the French and their allies into the covenant chain. The Confederacy promised to remain neutral in the struggle between the French and the English.

The French welcomed the treaty of 1701. The fur trade that kept New France alive, had been reduced since the outbreak of war in the middle of the seventeeth century. This trade could now be resumed with the Iroquois at peace. The French foolishly wanted the Iroquois to trade exclusively with French fur traders. The Iroquois could not agree to this. They said they would trade with whoever gave the best price for the furs.

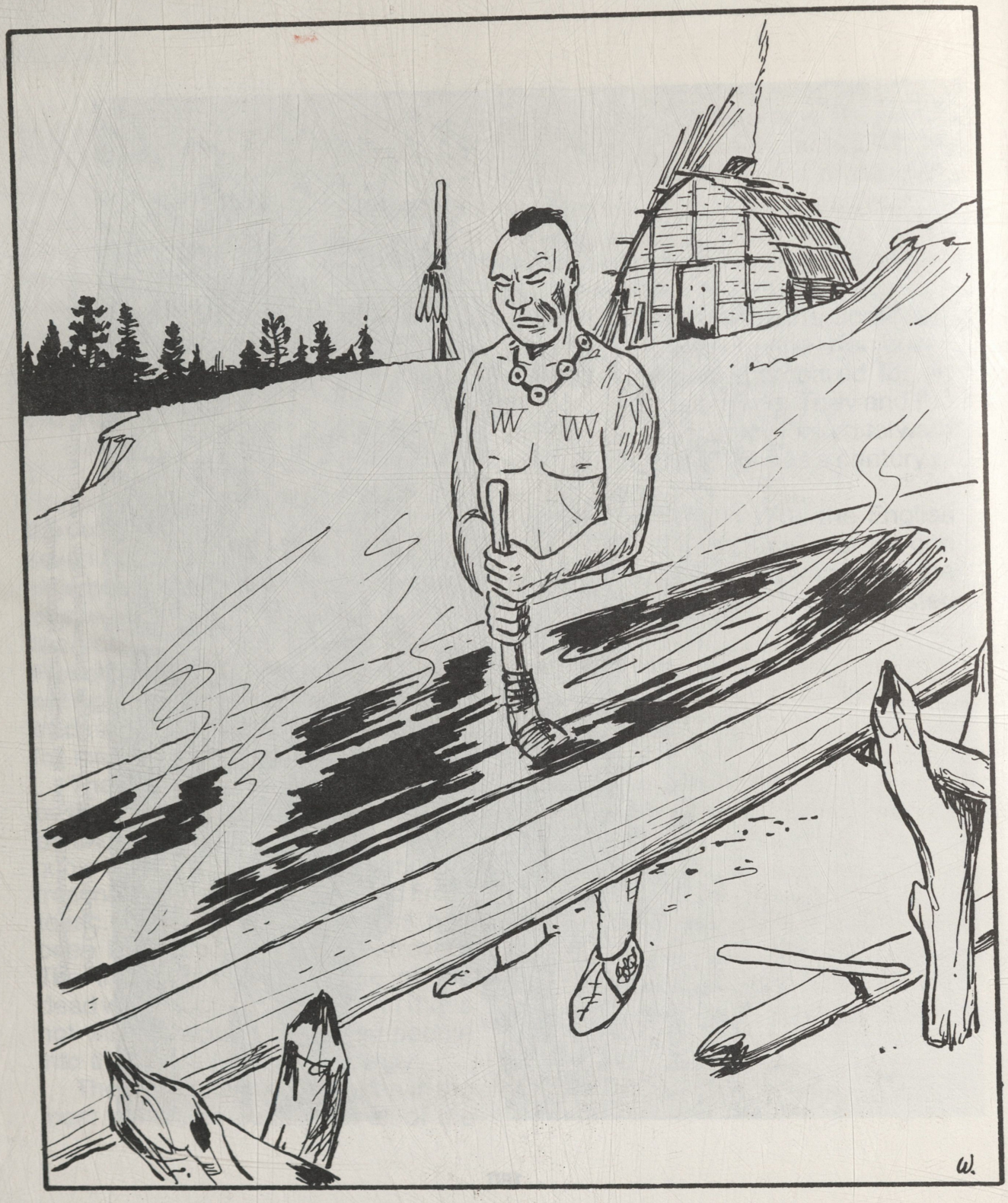
The peace of 1701 was welcomed by the Iroquois. They had successfully defended their territory during the Iroquois Wars and through the period of treachery by Denonville, Kryn and Frontenac. However, many warriors had been killed and property destroyed. The Iroquois replaced some of the dead with adopted captives, but it was not wise to accept too many people into the Confederacy in this way.

The Kanienkehaka had been in the most vulnerable position of all of the nations of the Confederacy. They were closest to both the French and the English. During the years of conflict, Kahnawake had grown considerably. Several migrations had taken place, and one more was being planned to the present site of Kahnawake.

With peace between the Confederacy and the French, the Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake prepared for an increase in the fur trade. They and the rest of the Confederacy looked forward to beginning the 1700's as a century of peace and prosperity.

Unfortunately, in 1701 the English and the French declared war on one another in a conflict that was called the Queen Anne's War. This war lasted until 1713.

Fort Chambly. French forts such as this guarded New France from attack from the south. The greatest threat came from the Iroquois and English armies.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Chapter 12
The Daily Life Of The Eighteenth Century Kanienkehaka

In order to understand Mohawk history, it is important to understand the past relationships of the Mohawk people with their native neighbours and the French and the English. Often the Kanienkehaka had to resort to warfare with these people. It is important to realize however, that the Kanienkehaka did not spend all their time fighting. Warfare was only one aspect of Mohawk culture, and only men were warriors. A picture of the daily life of the eighteenth century Kanienkehaka will include a variety of activities.

The eighteenth century was a time of important economic development for the Kanienkehaka. During this period the Kanienkehaka had great success in the fur trade. They expanded their settlements to the full length and breadth of their territory.

This chapter looks at:

1. The Resources Of Kanienkeh
2. A Day In The Life of Thaonwentsawakon

1. The Resources of Kanienkeh

The territory of the Kanienkehaka is called Kanienkeh, the land of the flint. The territory received this name from the large amount of flint rock in the Adirondaks between the St. Lawrence Valley and the Mohawk Valley. This is why the Mohawk people call themselves the Kanienkehaka, the people of the flint. In addition to the abundance of flint rock, the territory of Kanienkeh was rich in natural resources.

The Kanienkehaka Found Their Food In Their Natural Resources. The waterways of Kanienkeh teamed with fish. The Kanienkehaka used to travel to the Hudson River and Connecticut River for their annual salmon fishing. When English colonists settled in the Connecticut River Valley of Massachusetts, they put a price on the scalps of Mohawk men, women and children. For the head of a Mohawk man the English paid eighteen pounds. For a women or child they paid twelve pounds. For the capture of a Mohawk adult or child the Massachusetts' legislature paid twenty four pounds. These captives were sold into slavery to work in the sugar fields of the Caribean.

With the English putting their laws of scalping and slavery into practice, the Kanienkehaka stopped fishing the Connecticut River for salmon. Fishing activities were then confined to the Hudson River, Mohawk River, St. Lawrence River and Lake Champlain.

The middle Adirondak region of Kanienkeh was a rich hunting area. The pine forests covered most of the Adirondaks and made farming in this region unprofitable. Pine makes the soil acidic. This prevents the harvesting of successful crops. The Lake Champlain Valley, the Mohawk Valley and the St. Lawrence Valley were fertile and suited perfectly for agriculture. Most of the agricultural produce of the Kanienkehaka was used by the Kanienkehaka themselves. Some corn was traded annually with the northern nations in exchange for venison and other meat that was more abundant in the northern territories.

The whole of Kanienkeh was covered with groves of maple trees. The maple syrup was tapped in the late winter or early spring for an abundant yield of sugar. This sugar was used by the Kanienkehaka or traded to the Europeans in exchange for metal goods, cloth and firearms. Maple was used in medicine, in cooking and as a food preservative.

Kanienkeh also had a tremendous variety of wild foods. Potatoes grew abundantly on the low lying regions around Lake George. Onions were found in numerous locations around marshy lands bordering lakes. Strawberries, blueberries, wild apples, chokecherries and other fruit trees were also found in abundance. Trees bearing nuts and edible seeds were plentiful. These seeds provided an important source of vitamins, oils and protein to the diet of the Kanienkehaka.

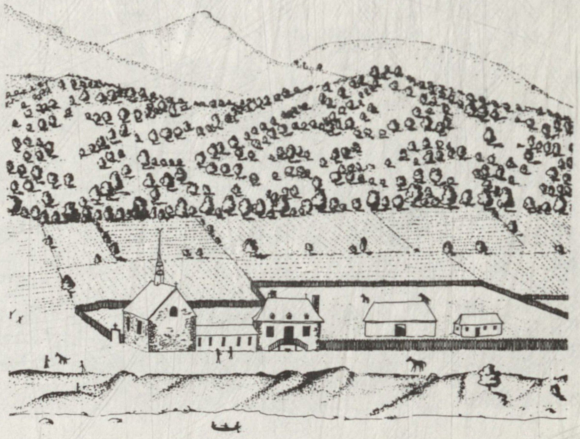
Trees provided building materials for homes and transportation. Soft woods such as basswood, poplar, yellow and white pine were used for carving household utensils, decorative ornaments and canoes. Harder woods such as hickory were steamed and turned into snowshoes, carved into mortars and pestles for grinding corn, or used as a smoke curative for meats. The barks and roots of many trees were used as medicine plants.

The Villages Throughout The Territory Were Similar In Many Respects. The Kanienkehaka were scattered throughout the territory in settlements along the Mohawk River, along the shores of Lake Champlain and along the St. Lawrence River. The life styles of these various settlements were similar in many respects, but different depending upon the region in which the settlement was located.

Mohawk villages were surrounded

by palisades that served in the defense of the settlements. Some of the settlements had as many as three rows of palisades. One settlement even had two sets of swivel guns located on the palisades.

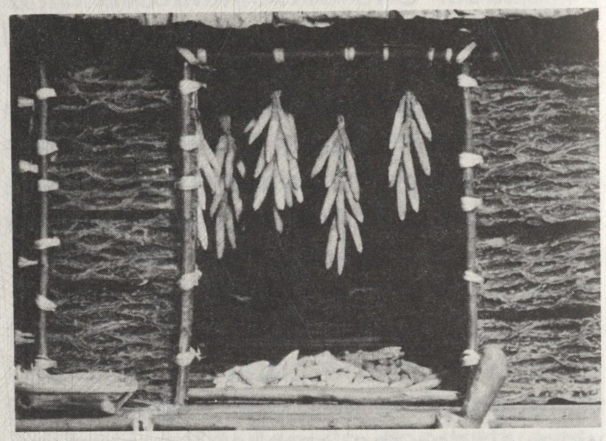
Approaching a Mohawk settlement a visitor first passed through fields under cultivation. This was true both of Kahnawake and the settlements to the south, such as Canajoharie and Tiononderoge. The main crops were corn, beans and squash. Other crops included native tobacco, potatoes and other varieties of vegetables. These crops were under the care of the women. They prepared the land, planted, maintained and harvested the crops.

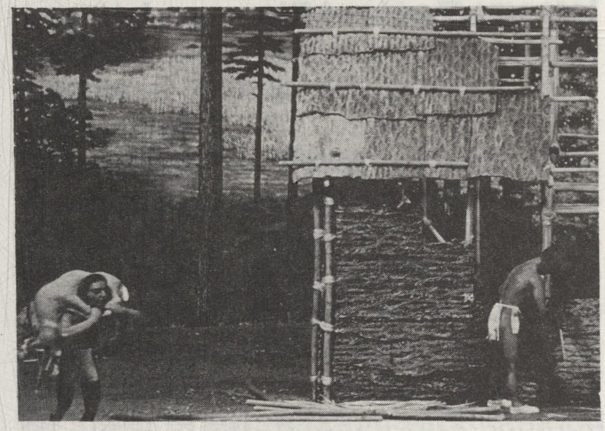


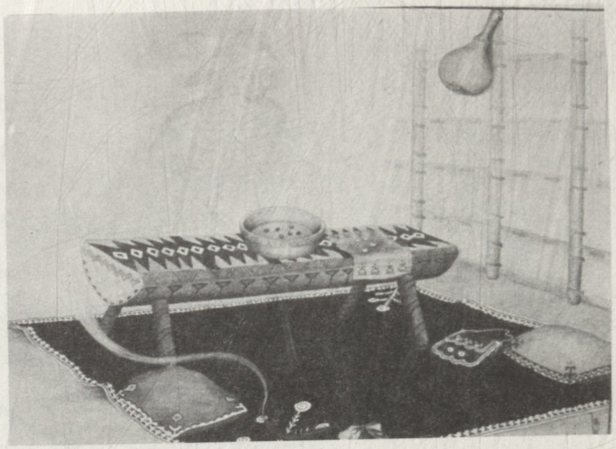
The beginnings of the fort at Kahnawake, 1722.

The People Of Kahnawake Used Horses To Haul Firewood. Kahnawake was surrounded by pens of horses. Horses were introduced to Kahnawake in the early 1700's. Without any previous experience in keeping horses, the people of Kahnawake were annoyed at first when the horses began eating the crops. Pens were finally constructed outside of the settlement to pasture and maintain the horses. The Kanienkehaka did not ride these horses. The horses were used as beasts of burden to haul firewood in from the outer reaches of the settlement. The longer Kahnawake remained in a single location, the more necessary the horses became. As wood was cut, the forest line drifted further and further from the village. Horses were helpful in bringing in the wood from these cutting areas.

Mohawk settlements were usually located near a waterway. Water travel by canoe was the principal means of transportation for the Kanienkehaka. If the settlement was not located right on the river shore, then it would be close by.







The Mohawk village of Kahnawake, 1722

Settlements were entered by the gates in the palisades. In times of war these gates were guarded. Longhouses were laid out along streets of hard packed earth. Clans usually lived in single villages. For example, on the Mohawk River there was a village of the Wolf clan, a village of the Turtle clan and a village of the Bear clan. Kahnawake was predominately a village of the Turtle clan, but there were other clans present as well. In Kahnawake, the village was subdivided according to clan. The Turtle clan, most numerous of all, lived on one side of the main thoroughfare. The other side of the village was shared by the Bears and the Wolves.

2. A Day In The Life Of Thaonwentsawakon

One of the best ways to get a full appreciation of what it was like to live and grow up in a Mohawk settlement in the 1700's is to follow the day of a fifteen year old boy, from the time he gets up in the morning until he goes to sleep at night.

Morning

Within the longhouses, bedding

was arranged along the sides of the walls. These beds were covered with soft rush mats and prepared deer hides. Our young Mohawk man is called Thaonwentsawakon, a traditional Mohawk name belonging to the Bear clan. This name means "He Embraces The Earth". Thaonwentsawakon got up early, before the sun rose, in order to help carry in firewood for the morning fires. Thaonwentsawakon, like other boys his age, was too old to be considered a boy, yet too young to be an adult. Some of his chores were boys' chores, while others were those of a man.

After helping his mother and his aunts carry in the wood, Thaonwentsawakon headed down to the river bank for a cold splash in the water. He cleaned himself with a mixture of sand and ashes. Other young men gathered at the river. There was a lot of fooling around, splashing and dunking of the younger boys.

By the time Thaonwentsawakon returned to the longhouse, the smells of breakfast were coming from the smoke hole. Mohawk women are well known for the great variety of recipes they prepared. Such favorites included a mixture of cereal made from corn mush, berries and sweetened with maple sugar. The Kanienkehaka did not raise cattle in the eighteenth century, but they did raise hogs. Breakfast often included a healthy sampling of pork, bacon and potatoes. Depending on the season, fresh or dried fruits were served along with a drink of cider or maple water.

Before eating breakfast, Thaonwentsawakon, his brothers and cousins joined the village elders in a tobacco burning ceremony. They took some tobacco from a pouch and sprinkled it onto a small fire. In this way the Kanienkehaka took a few moments out of what was to be a busy day to think about the wonders of creation and to thank the Creator for all of his gifts. This time took very little out of the day. It helped Thaonwentsawakon to put his thoughts in order and get a straight head for the rest of the day.

Breakfast was served inside the longhouse. On this particular morning in May, Thaonwentsawakon took his bowl of cereal and fry bread outside. He ate along the river with a cousin from the Turtle side of the village. The two young men exchanged plans, and agreed to meet later on in the day after chores were done for a game of arrow shoot.

Thaonwentsawakon Was Assigned To Collect Medicine. As a young man got older, his responsibilities increased. There was time during the day for play, but not until all work responsibilities were taken care of.

Work was assigned by the women, as the maintenance of the village was their responsibility. On this particular spring day, Thaonwentsawakon was told to take his canoe upriver to the medicine land to collect a combination of herbs for the medicine woman. Certain areas were reserved for the purpose of growing medicine. In Kahnawake this area was the large island at the mouth of the Chateauguay River. In Akwesasne the area of Snye was rich in herbs and medicine plants.

Thaonwentsawakon located a canoe belonging to his clan and got permission from the war chief to use the canoe. He then paddled off in search of the medicine. He brought a small bag of tobacco with him, in order to make offerings to the spirit of the medicine plants.

Certain medicines belonged to certain clans and could be used only by members of that clan. Other medicines were free for the use of all the people, regardless of clan membership. Archeological studies show that the Kanienkehaka were a healthy people. This was due to a life of hard work, a steady diet of proper foods and the benefit of good medicines. When Thaonwentsawakon located the medicine island he beached his canoe. He took out a basket made from ash and hickory and began collecting. He took only what was needed. He left a good deal behind in order to let the plants grow back again. Thaonwentsawakon thanked the spirit of the medicine and placed a pinch of tobacco onto the ground as a token of the thanks of his people.

Small ceremonies such as this were important to the Kanienkehaka. Man lives with the environment, and not in control of it. It is important to appreciate the environment and to be constantly thankful for it. If people constantly remind themselves that God, or the Creator, gave them only one earth to live on, they will be more careful in using the gifts of nature.

An Anthropologist Made A List Of Medicines Used In Kahnawake.

An anthropologist by the name of Fredrick Waugh collected a number of recipes of traditional medicines from Kahnawake. A few of these are listed below. This should give an idea of the kinds of things that Thaonwentsawakon would have been interested in finding, and what would have been done with this material once it was brought back to the village:

1. Thaonwentsawakon would certainly have known the plant called gaderaganra, or horse gentian. When the roots of this plant were cut up fine, pounded and made into

a powder, they were added to a cupful of boiling water and then left to cool. Once the drink cooled off it was an excellent cure for a dry sore throat. It was left in the mouth for a while, then swallowed. The medicine was taken every hour until the sore throat or dryness disappeared.

2. Sometimes in the spring the Kanienkehaka say, the blood does not circulate well. When this happened a medicine person went out and collected a bunch of mulberry roots (deyuderahakdon) the roots of the sensitive fern (yuderiserun), the roots of the Christmas fern (djunhegwun), and the branches of the black cherry tree (erigowa). A mulberry root was put in a pot along with a handful of sensitive fern, and a handful of Christmas fern. Two handfuls of black cherry twigs, six inches long were added. One half gallon of water was used to cover the plants, and the mixture was brought to a boil. After boiling for an hour, more water was added to keep one half a gallon in the pot at all times. When the mixture was cooled, it was taken in small amounts of one half a cup, three hours apart. This was considered a strong medicine and certainly helped the circulation.

3. Sumac was considered a powerful medicine by Mohawk people. It grew near most of the settlements and was easily harvested. The Kanienkehaka called sumac, daragwi. This plant was used in combination with white pine and cranberry to make a medicine for mothers expecting a baby. It also helped to cure a cold. It was important to gather the sumac in the proper manner. The branches had to be cut from the tree in two foot lengths, and the bark skinned by drawing a knife from the tip of the branch towards the stock. In this way the important waters stayed in the bark.

Afternoon

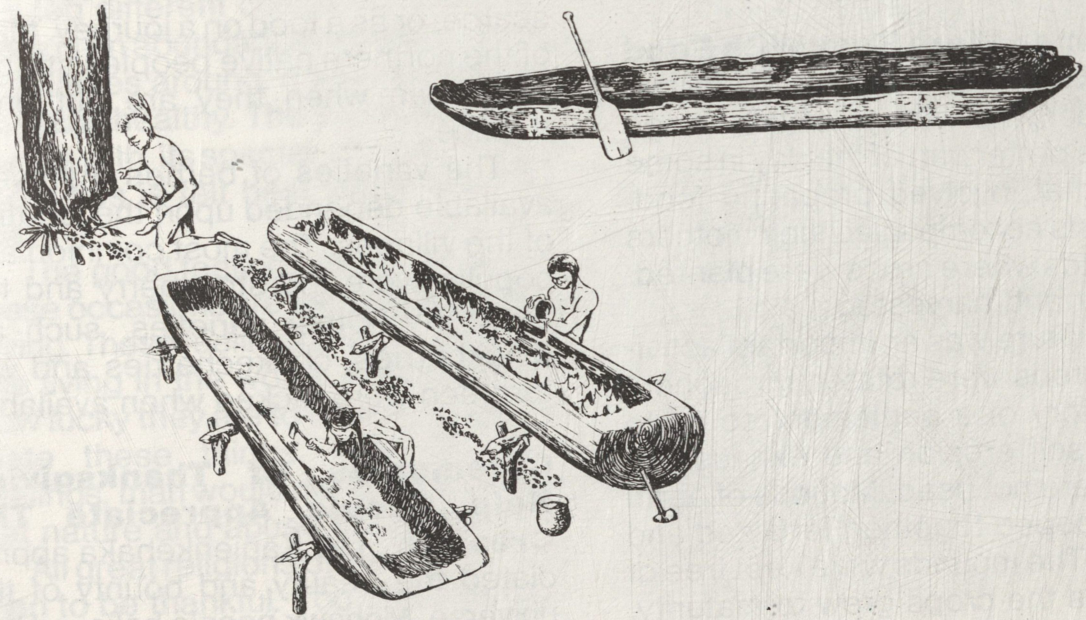
Thaonwentsawakon returned to the village with his medicines around noon. The Kanienkehaka did not have a formal meal at noon. The women prepared a pot of stew or cooked corn that was kept warm all day long. Anybody who wanted to eat during the day came into the longhouse, filled his or her bowl with food, and ate at leisure.

Thaonwentsawakon Helped The Men With The Afternoon Jobs. Thaonwentsawakon did not have a great deal of time to relax after eating his noon day meal. The men of the village had numerous responsibilities. Thaonwentsawakon shared in these responsibilities. By early afternoon he joined his father and uncles on his mother's side to prepare bark for re-

pairing the longhouse. They were careful to keep some large sheets stored away for canoe construction. A young man such as Thaonwentsawakon was not required to do a full days man's work, but he was expected to lend a helping hand in these efforts.

Canoe construction was a skill that not all of the men of the village mastered. It demanded a special talent for handling wood, bark and tools for bending, cutting and fitting these materials. Bark was cut from the trees in the spring. A large sheet of elm bark was cut in the following manner. The tree was selected for its straightness and its size. The side of the tree was cut deep vertically with a knife. Slowly the bark was pried off of the tree, leaving the whole piece intact. This piece was then laid on the ground and curved so that the round bark was on the inside of the canoe. This curving process took a number of days. It had to be done carefully and slowly so that the bark would not split.

Once the curvature was set, the piece of bark was placed between pegs at either end, and the canoe was sealed by sewing the ends together. A mixture of pitch and gum was placed in the two end seams to keep the canoe from developing any leaks. The thread used to sew the canoe was made from the inside bark of a cedar tree. The interior support pieces and the seats



of the canoe were made from the branches of the elm tree. They were lashed to the edge of the canoe with the same cedar thread used to hold the canoe together.

If sufficient elm bark could not be found for constructing these canoes, dugouts were made. Dugouts were constructed of a soft wood such as basswood or pine. A tree at least three feet in diameter would be cut down or burned around the base. A section long enough for the passengers and baggage was cut from the trunk of the tree, and the interior burned out. Scooped axes called adzes were sometimes used in dugout construction. When they were not available stone tools were used.

The Women Were Busy With Food Production. Depending upon the time of the year, the women of the village spent the better part of the day in some activity that involved preparing food. Young girls accompanied their mothers to the fields where crops were planted, cared for and harvested.

Agriculture was an important activity. The crops were rotated throughout the territory of a settlement so as to prevent soil erosion and exhaustion. Plows were not used. Mounds of earth were scooped together, fertilized and seeded. The mounds were kept free of weeds as the crops grew to maturity. The most common fertilizer used was fish and the ashes of bones. This kept the soil rich and provided the Kanienkehaka with a good supply of food.

In addition to the crops that were planted, wild berries, seeds, nuts and fruits were collected from the fields around a settlement. This work was done by groups of children under the supervision of a grandmother or an older aunt.

Mohawk women used these wild foods in many recipes. Puddings contained nuts. Fruits were dried and stored for eating throughout the winter months. A mixture of dried berries, nuts and dried venison was kept in leather sacks. This recipe is called pemmican. It was eaten when other food was scarce, or as a food on a journey. Many of the northern native peoples still use pemmican when they are out on a trapline.

The varieties of berries that were available depended upon the location of the villages. The most common and popular were the strawberry and the blueberry. Other varieties, such as, blackberries, chokecherries and wintergreen were picked when available.

Ceremonies Of Thanksgiving Help People Appreciate The Creation. The Kanienkehaka appreciated the beauty and bounty of the universe. Mohawk people believed that

their first ancestors were told by the Creator to always be thankful for the good things of the earth, the wild foods and the harvest. Four ceremonies of thanksgiving were established for the four seasons of the year, so that the people could remember these things. What does it mean to be thankful?

Think about how it feels when, after a long and cold winter, the spring sun finally breaks through and warms the earth up again. On a day like this everybody wants to go outdoors to enjoy the day. This feeling in the spring is much like the way one feels in the early winter when the first blanket of snow falls in the night to cover the earth. When the leaves of trees are all painted different colors in the fall and there is an abundance of fresh fruit and vegetables around, it feels good to be alive and healthy. The summertime too comes with its special character. Probably this is felt best when school is out.

The good feelings that one gets on these occasions are feelings of thanksgiving. These feelings show that people like living in the world. People realize how lucky they are to be able to appreciate these things. Without those feelings, man would certainly soon forget nature and abuse its goodness.

All great religions of the world teach man to be thankful. Too often the emphasis is placed upon the rituals, however, and not on the really important feelings that are supposed to be present. For the Kanienkehaka, the rituals of thanksgiving were always accompanied by feelings of thanksgiving. This is because Mohawk people depended upon and were in harmony with the natural world around them. Is this also true today?

There Was Time For Play After Work. When an afternoon's work was done, there may have been a bit of daylight left to play with friends. Games depended on the season of the year. In the winter, the snow snake was played. In the summer months, lacrosse was most popular. In the spring and fall, games of hunt were most often played.

In Mohawk society, the playing of games was another way of educating the youth and helping them become young adults. Young people played games that were really miniaturized versions of activities that they were expected to participate in as adults. For example, men were expected to be skilled as hunters and warriors. In order to develop some of the skills necessary to be a succesful hunter or warrior, boys played arrow shoot. In this game the boys tried to shoot arrows through a moving hoop. This was the game played by Thaonwentsawakon and his cousins. A similar game was played with spears.

Evening

The late afternoon-early evening supper was held in the longhouse. Usually this meal was more substantial then the stew or soup kept warm on the fire during the day. In one typical recipe, deer meat was soaked in a mixture of bear fat and maple sugar and fried. Served over a bowl of potatoes that had been cooked in raccoon's fat and seasoned with herbs, this meal was considered a delicacy.

After the evening meal, the whole longhouse cooperated in getting things cleaned up and back in order. There was no problem over who was to do the dishes. Everybody had their own bowls and utensils. These were carved with the clan symbol, and sometimes the symbol of the person to whom they belonged. These utensils were taken care of by the owner and could last for years. After the babies were tucked away in their bedding along the walls, the children and adults crowded around the fire in the center of the longhouse for an evening of entertainment.

Mohawk People Loved A Good Story. There were no television, no books, radio or movies in those days. People had to provide their own entertainment. A favorite pastime was storytelling. Some older member of each longhouse would be prompted to tell all of the people one of the many stories that were favored amongst the people. Thaonwentsawakon enjoyed listening to the old people tell the stories. These storytellers were called "dogiques", men of knowledge, by the French.

A longhouse in the evening had the perfect atmosphere for storytelling. The longhouse was dimly lit. The only light came from the fire and the soft stream of moonlight that managed to creep in through the smoke hole. The fire threw dancing shadows across the walls of the longhouse. These provided rich images to capture the imaginations of children and adults alike as the storyteller began his story:

> Now, he who was my grandfather used to tell this story. And this is what he used to hear from his grandfather, and back for five generations of grandfathers before him. This is what he was in the habit of telling.

Two young warriors, who were cousins, started on a hunting expedition. Having arrived at their destination, they constructed a temporary camp.

Some time after camping they heard a very peculiar noise, and one of the cousins said, "I am going to see what is making that sound." On investigation he found that the sound came from a hollow tree, so he concluded naturally that it was caused by a bear. Going back to the camp, he said to his companion, "There must be a bear in that hollow tree, although the noise which it makes is like that of a whirlwind." Then they both went to the tree to investigate further the cause of the peculiar sounds. One climbed the tree to take a look into the cavity. At first he could see nothing, but finally he saw at the bottom of the hollow cavity a spotted trout, which was leaping around swiftly in water collected there. Crawling into the hole, he captured the trout with his hand. On getting out, he threw the fish down to his cousin, who said: "This is a curious fish. Let us take it back to camp." The other replied, "No! Do not touch it; it may be something that will bring us harm." But the other young man would not heed this advice. Taking the fish to camp, he cleaned, cooked, and ate it. When he had finished eating, he began to be very thirsty, and said to his companion, "Go and get me some water, cousin." The cousin brought him water, and the other drank and kept on drinking, seeming to be unable to get enough water.

Then his cousin said to him, "Do you think that the fish is making you ill?" The only reply was, "Oh! get me more water. Take my moccasins and get me plenty." He brought both moccasins full of water, which the thirsty man drank at once. At last the man who was not ill said, "I am tired of getting water for you; you go to the spring and there you can drink all you want." Visiting the spring, he drank until he was tired of drinking; then he rested, and then he began to drink still more.

The cousin, being busy around the camp, did not pay much attention to the sick man, but after a while he went to the spring to look after his cousin. Arriving there, he was frightened when he saw him, for his mouth had become like that of a fish. He asked

the sick man how he felt. The other replied, "Oh, about as usual." Then came the query, "Does not your mouth feel queer?" Putting up his hand, the afflicted youth found that his mouth had grown large, but still kept on drinking. His companion hurried back to the camp in sorrow. The next time he went to the spring he found that his cousin had become a fish to the waist. Later, when he went again to the spring, his cousin had completely changed into a fish, and had gone into the spring. The following morning his cousin had become a great fish, dwelling far under the water, and the spring had grown into a large pond.

The man sat down on the bank of the pond. Soon the great fish, raising its head out of the water, said: "My poor cousin, you see how I have turned into a fish. Go home and tell my parents what has become of me. When you need fish, come to this pond and you shall get all you want. This pond will always be full of fish."

The man went home, where he told everyone what had befallen his companion. The people then visited the pond, whereupon the great fish, lifting its head above the surface, said, "I shall not long be a fish, for I shall soon become a Haniakwiio." Then the people departed.

In a short time the great fish became a Haniakwiio, having hair only on its back and feet. It remained around the lake, and of those who came there to fish it always killed and ate one. The people did not see this done, but always missed one of their number at that place. They did not like this at all, knowing that if the fish continued to live there long it would kill many persons. The people therefore assembled in council to decide how to get rid of the great fish. At last two or three young men agreed to go there and try to kill the Haniakwiio; but they never returned. Men who went to find them recovered only their garments.

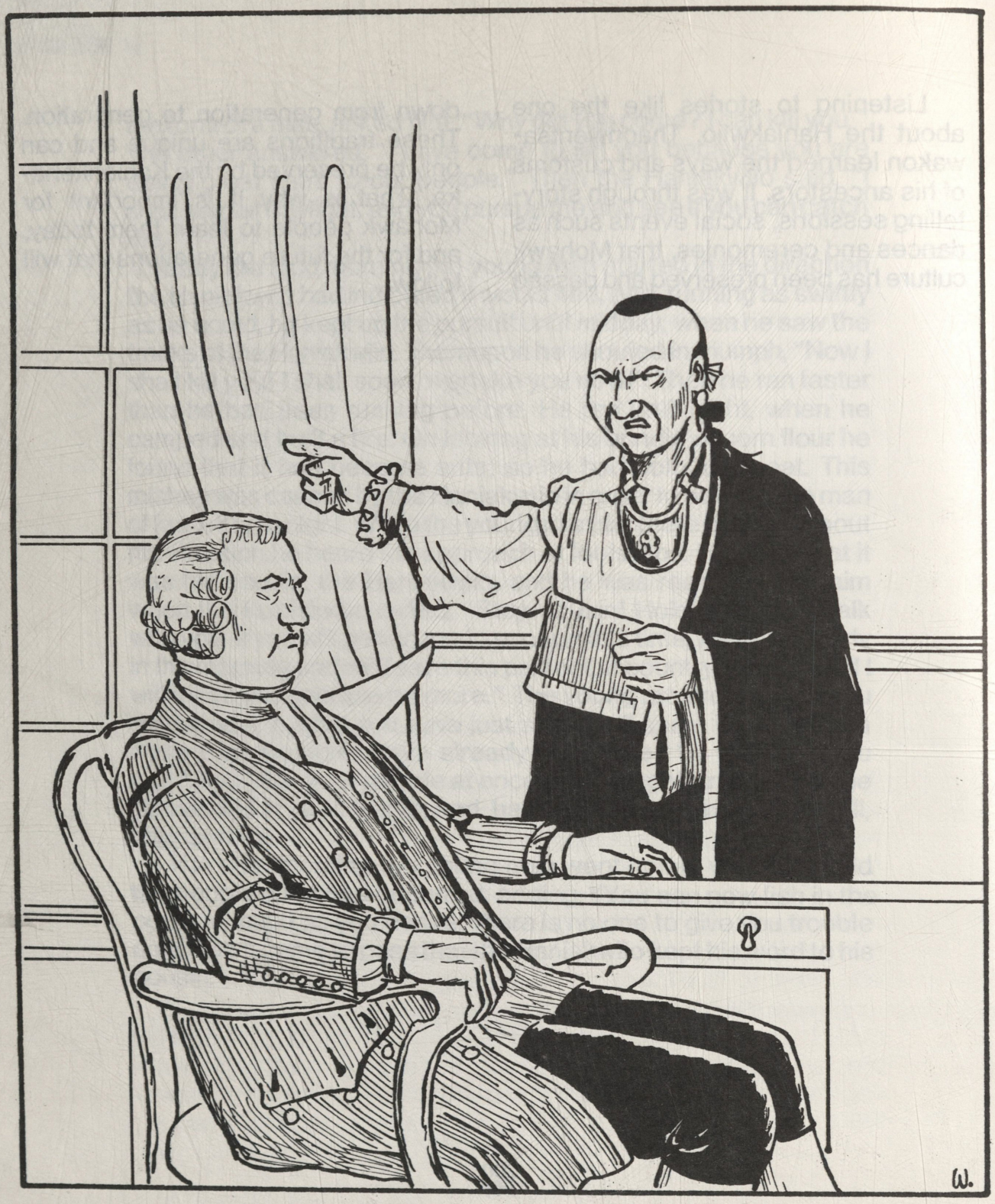
Finally the cousin of the man who had become a Haniakwiio said, "I shall now go. Perhaps I may be able to kill it." so they prepared for him parched corn, new moccasins, a very good bow and twelve fine arrows. Having arrived at the pond, he camped there. That night he dreamed that his cousin, appearing to him in

the form of a man, asked him: "Why did you come? I can kill you." The other answered, "I have come to kill you because you are doing great harm to our people." Then the Haniakwiio said, "I shall start at daylight, and you pursue me and see if you can catch me."

Early the next morning the young man started in the direction the Haniakwiio had indicated it would flee, and, running as swiftly as he could, he kept up the pursuit until midday, when he saw the tracks of the Haniakwiio. Thereupon he shouted in triumph, "Now I shall kill you! I shall soon overtake you now!" Then he ran faster than he had been running before. He ran until night, when he camped and built a fire. On looking at his bundle of corn flour he found that it had become ants; so he had nothing to eat. This mishap was caused by the Haniakwiio in order to deprive the man of food. It was night. While the young man sat there thinking about his situation he heard the approach of footsteps. He knew that it was his cousin, the Haniakwiio, and he was ready to take aim when the Haniakwiio called, "Stop cousin! Hold, until I can talk with you. If you will permit me to escape this time, I will start early in the morning and will leave this part of the country forever, and I will injure your people no more." The young man replied, "If you are earnest in what you have just said, I will spare your life. You know that too many have already been killed by you, and you must stop killing our people at once." Thoroughly frightened, the Haniakwiio agreed to this; and, having bade each other farewell, they parted.

The next morning the young man went home, where he told the people what had occurred, adding, "You can now fish in the pond as much as you desire; there is no one to give you trouble now." So it came to pass that the Haniakwiio kept his word to his cousin.

Listening to stories like the one about the Haniakwiio, Thaonwentsawakon learned the ways and customs of his ancestors. It was through storytelling sessions, social events such as dances and ceremonies, that Mohawk culture has been preserved and passed down from generation to generation. These traditions are unique and can only be preserved by the Kanienkehaka. That is why it is important for Mohawk people to learn them today, and for the future generations that will follow.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Chapter 13
The French And English Wars

During the period of warfare known as the Iroquois Wars, it became necessary for the Kanienkehaka to pull back from the extreme edges in their territory and to concentrate their settlements in the Mohawk Valley. The northern part of Kanienkeh was left undefended and unsettled from shortly before Champlain's arrival in North America until the time of the Peace of 1667. Between 1667 and 1701 the Kanienkehaka resettled the northern part of Kanienkeh by settling at Kahnawake.

As discussed in chapter 11 the years 1667-1701 were difficult years for the Kanienkehaka. Due to the treacheries of men such as Denonville, Frontenac and Kryn, the Kanienkehaka nearly became split over issues of religion, trade and military alliance. By 1701, the Kanienkehaka had learned a valuable lesson: make alliances with the English and the French, but never allow these Europeans powers to use the Kanienkehaka for their own end.

During the next sixty one years, from 1701 until 1762, the Kanienkehaka were able to use these tactics and play the French against the English, and the English against the French. They did this during a period called the French and Indian Wars.

This chapter discusses:

1. Why The French And English Fought
2. King William's War
3. Queen Anne's War
4. King George's War

1. Why The French And English Fought

European and American historians have called these wars the French and Indian Wars. It is more accurate to call them the French and English Wars in North America. There were four of these wars. The first, King William's War, lasted from 1689-1697. The second, Queen Anne's War, lasted from 1702-1713. The third, King George's War, lasted from 1744-1748. The fourth and final, the Seven Years' War, lasted from 1756-1763.

The French And English Fought For Control Of The Seas. All of these wars had their origins in Europe. The French and the English were both becoming powerful countries in Europe

at this time. They were in competition for the control of the seas and trade of Europe. The French and the English should have taken a lesson from the Mohawk people. The Kanienkehaka had fought long and hard wars to guarantee that travel on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River be kept open to all nations.

The free passage over rivers is called riverine rights. The right to travel on the seas is called maritime rights. Neither the French nor the English recognized these basic rights by wanting to control the seas.

The French and English had settlements in North America which they were trying to develop. The wars these two nations fought in Europe over control of the seas were also fought in North America.

In order to better understand this fighting between the English and the French, it is necessary to understand what these two nations wanted in North America.

English Wanted Land In North America. England was an island nation that relied on the ocean for its power. It had a powerful navy at this time. England was a small country that needed land to grow food, room for an expanding population, wood to build ships and raw material to feed into its factories. All of these things the English got from their colonies in North America at the expense of native people. Whole nations of native people disappeared as the English took more land.

People who could not find room or work in England sailed for the Americas to find both. British ship builders commissioned men to sail to America to cut down whole forests for the construction of ships for the British Royal Navy. Food that was grown in North America was sent to England to be consumed by a steadily growing population.

As the population of the English colonies grew, so did their need for materials manufactured in England. England did not allow her colonies to purchase things made in other countries, so the colonies became totally dependent upon England. England and her colonies were intertwined in a single economic alliance against the French.

France Wanted Furs In North America. France was a much larger country than England and the French came to the Americas with different intentions than the English. There were not a large number of French settlers in New France. The French were more interested in the fur trade, and in the cash they received from selling the furs in Europe. The French did not clear as great an amount of land as the English did. Neither did they have as

great an interest in killing off native people to get their land. They simply wanted native people to become subject to the King of France, and to work for the King of France by selling furs only to the French.

2. King William's War

The first war between France and England that was fought in North America was King William's War. It was fought from 1689 until 1697. The native nations settled around the region of what is now Maine, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick formed an alliance with the French. These nations were the Passamaquoddy, Penobscot and Abenaki. The reason why they did this was because the English were moving into their territories, killing their young men while they were on the hunt, and in some instances attacking native villages and killing the men, women and children.

The English in what is now New England tried to get the Kanienkehaka to join the battle against the French and these native nations. In September of 1689 representatives from Massachusetts Bay Colony, Plymouth Colony and Connecticut arrived in Albany to meet with the Five Nations Confederacy. The English wished to renew the chain of friendship and to get the Kanienkehaka to join in the battle against the eastern native nations who were allied with the French.

The Confederacy had also received ambassadors from these eastern native nations asking the Kanienkehaka not to join with the English against their people.

The Confederacy Remained Neutral. The council between the Confederacy and the English met on September 24, 1689. The main speaker for the Five Nations was a Kanienkehaka, Tahajadoris. He addressed himself to the agents from the New England Colonies with the following words:

> Brethren,
>
> You are welcome to this House, which is appointed for our Treaties and public Business with the Christians; we thank you for renewing the Covenant-chain. It is now no longer of Iron and subject to Rust, as formerly, but of pure Silver, and includes in it all the King's Subjects, from the Senecas Country eastward, as far as any of the great King's Subjects live, and southward, from New England to Virginia. Here we give a Beaver.
>
> We are glad to hear of the good Success our great King has had over the French by Sea, in taking and sinking so many of their Men of War. You tell us in your Proposals that we are one People, let us go Hand in Hand together, to ruin and destroy the French our common Enemy. We give a Beaver.
>
> The Covenant-chain between us is

ancient and of long standing, and it has been kept inviolably by us. When you had Wars some time ago with the Indians, you desired us to help you; we did it readily, and to the Purpose; for we pursued them closely, by which we prevented the Effusion of much of your Blood. This was a certain Sign that we loved truly and sincerely, and from our Hearts. We give a Belt.

You advise us to pursue our Enemies, the French, vigorously; this we assure you we are resolved to do the utmost of our Power: But since the French are your Enemies likewise, we desire our Brethren of the three Colonies to send us an hundred Men for the Security of this Place, which is ill provided, in Case of an attack from the French; the Christians have Victuals enough for their Entertainment. We give one Belt.

We patiently bore many Injuries from the French, from one Year to another, before we took up the Axe against them. Our Patience made the Governor of Canada think that we were afraid of him, and durst not resent the Injuries we had so long suffered; but now he is undeceived. We assure you, that we are resolved never to drop the Axe, the French never shall see our Faces In Peace, we shall never be reconciled as long as one Frenchman is alive. We shall never make Peace, though our Nation should be ruined by it, and every one of us cut in Pieces. Our Brethren of the three Colonies may depend on this. We give a Beaver.

As to what you told us of the Abenakis, we answer: That we were never so proud and haughty, as to begin a War without just Provocation. You tell us that they are treacherous Rogues, we believe it, and that they will undoubtedly assist the French. If they shall do this, or shall join with any of our Enemies, either French or Indians, then we will kill and destroy them. We give a Beaver.

Then the Kanienkehaka offered five of their men to guard the homes of the agents. The Kanienkehaka gave a belt and then Tahajadoris continued his speech:

We have spoke what we had to say of the War, we now come to the Affairs of Peace: We promise to preserve the Chain inviolably, and wish that the Sun may always shine in Peace over all our Heads that are comprehended in this Chain. We give two Belts, one for the Sun, the other for its Beams.

We make the Roots of the Tree of Peace and Tranquillity, which is planted in this Place. Its Roots extend as far as the utmost of your Colonies; if the French should come to shake this Tree, we would feel it by the Motion of its Roots, which extend into our Country: But we trust it will not be in the Governor of Canada's Power to shake this Tree, which has been so firmly and so long planted with us. [1]

Although the Kanienkehaka considered the conference over, the English did not. They wanted to know if the Kanienkehaka would fight with them in their battles with the eastern native

nations. The Confederacy answered:

> We cannot declare War against the Eastern Indians, for they have done us no Harm: Nevertheless our Brethren of New England may be assured, that we will live and die in friendship with them. When we took up the Axe against the French and their Confederates, we did it to revenge the Injuries they had done us; we did not make War with them at the Persuasions of our Brethren here; for we did not so much as acquaint them with our Intention, till fourteen Days after our Army had begun their March. *2*

The English Put A Bounty On Any Iroquois Found East Of Connecticut River. The English of New England had asked the Kanienkehaka for help in fighting the eastern native nations who were not enemies of the Five Nations. Later, when it looked as if the territories of the Five Nations might be attacked by the French, the Confederacy raised an interesting question. Would the English help the Five Nations defend Iroquois territory from the French?

The English reply was no. In addition to this negative reply, the English made inhumane laws against Iroquois people. The government of Massachusetts set a bounty for the head or scalp of any member of the Five Nations found east of the Connecticut River. A bounty of 18 pounds sterling was offered for the head or scalp of an Iroquois man, and 16 pounds sterling for the head or scalp of an Iroquois woman or child.

The very same government that had asked the Kanienkehaka to attack the eastern native nations was also offering rewards for the scalps of Iroquois men, women and children. Because of things like this, the Kanienkehaka had little to do with the English of New England.

3. Queen Anne's War

Queen Anne's War was the second of the wars between the French and the English in North America. It was fought from 1702 until 1713. Like the King William's War, the Confederacy did not become heavily involved in the conflict. There is one instance, however, when Kahnawake did become involved.

The laws that were passed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony legislature setting bounties for the scalps of Iroquois people east of the Connecticut River, greatly disturbed the Kanienkehaka. The Connecticut River was on the border of Kanienkeh. Although the Mohawk Nation did not maintain any permanent settlements in the Connecticut River Valley, Mohawk people used to travel to this area every year to harvest crops and fish for salmon in the river. With these laws in effect, it became too dangerous to bring women and children into the valley. The Kan-

ienkehaka lost a valuable source of salmon. Therefore, the Kanienkehaka were angry at the English people of New England. This anger mounted as English scalp hunters killed more and more Iroquois people.

The war between the French and the English broke out in the year 1702. Shortly after the French were trying to raise an army of French and native allies to attack the English settlements of the Connecticut Valley. The French had the aid of a large party of Abenaki from the village of St. Francis who were eager to accompany them on this expedition. The northern Kanienkehaka from Kahnawake were hesitant to become a part of this fight.

Kahnawake Warriors Went To Deerfield To Get Their Bell. The event that brought Kahnawake briefly into the war provides an interesting and popular story. Around 1700 the people of Kahnawake decided to raise a new bell in the chapel of their village. The bell was something that the Kanienkehaka had adopted from the Europeans. They found it a quick and effective way to call people in from the fields, sugar bushes and surrounding shorelines of Kahnawake. The bell already in the church was small and could not be heard from afar.

The people saved up their furs and traded them in Montreal for silver. With this silver they purchased the new bell from a Russian foundry. The bell was made in Russia but was to be shipped to Montreal in the French ship, Le Grand Monarch. Le Grand Monarch was captured on the way to Montreal and the cargo in the ship was sold in the town of Salem, Massachusetts.

The English and the French regularly attacked each other's ships. The victorious crew would sell the cargo of the vanquished ship as booty. The profits from this booty were split up among the crew and owners of the victorious ship.

When the booty of Le Grand Monarch was sold in Salem, a young minister by the name of John Williams purchased the bell. John Williams returned to his home in Deerfield, Massachusetts and hoisted the bell up in his church. Deerfield is situated along the Connecticut River along the eastern border of Kanienkeh. The people of Kahnawake soon dicovered that their bell was only three hundred miles away.

The warriors of Kahnawake decided to recover the bell from the English and to place it in their own church. A party of Kahnawake warriors joined with the combined French and Abenaki force and set off across the wilderness in the winter of 1704 to retrieve the bell from Deerfield.

The journey from Kahnawake to Deerfield fell right along the border of

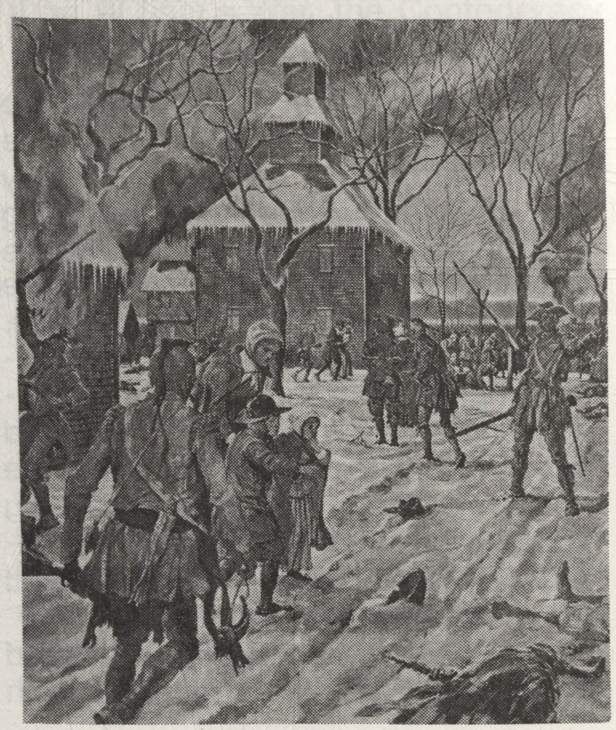
Kanienkeh. From Kahnawake the war party traveled by dog sled and snow shoe to the Richelieu River, down to Lake Champlain, and then across the Lake Champlain Valley, over the Green Mountains to the White River. The White River flowed into the Connecticut River at a place called White River Junction.

From White River Junction the trip to Deerfield was simple. The war party simply followed the Connecticut River to Massachusetts at the junction of the Green River and the Connecticut River. The Kanienkehaka, French and Abenaki arrived on the outskirts of Deerfield on February 28, 1704.

The Kanienkehaka, French And Abenaki Raided Deerfield. The village of Deerfield was poorly palisaded. The walls around the village were not well built or guarded. On the other hand, the individual houses in Deerfield were sturdy. They were made of stone and many had a large upstairs balcony from which defenders could fire down on attackers. At the time of the attack, a regiment of soldiers were living in Deerfield. As there were no permanent barracks at Deerfield, five or six of these soldiers boarded in each of the private homes of the village. Some of these houses were outfitted with a small cannon by the soldiers. By arranging their defenses in this way, the people of Deerfield placed their families in great danger. They were actually bringing the battle into their living rooms by boarding soldiers in their homes in this fashion.

When the Kanienkehaka, French and Abenaki arrived at Deerfield, they were surprised to see that the snow had drifted right up to the tops of the walls around the town. All they had to do was to walk right in on the English. The sentinels were soon out of the way and the village was under attack.

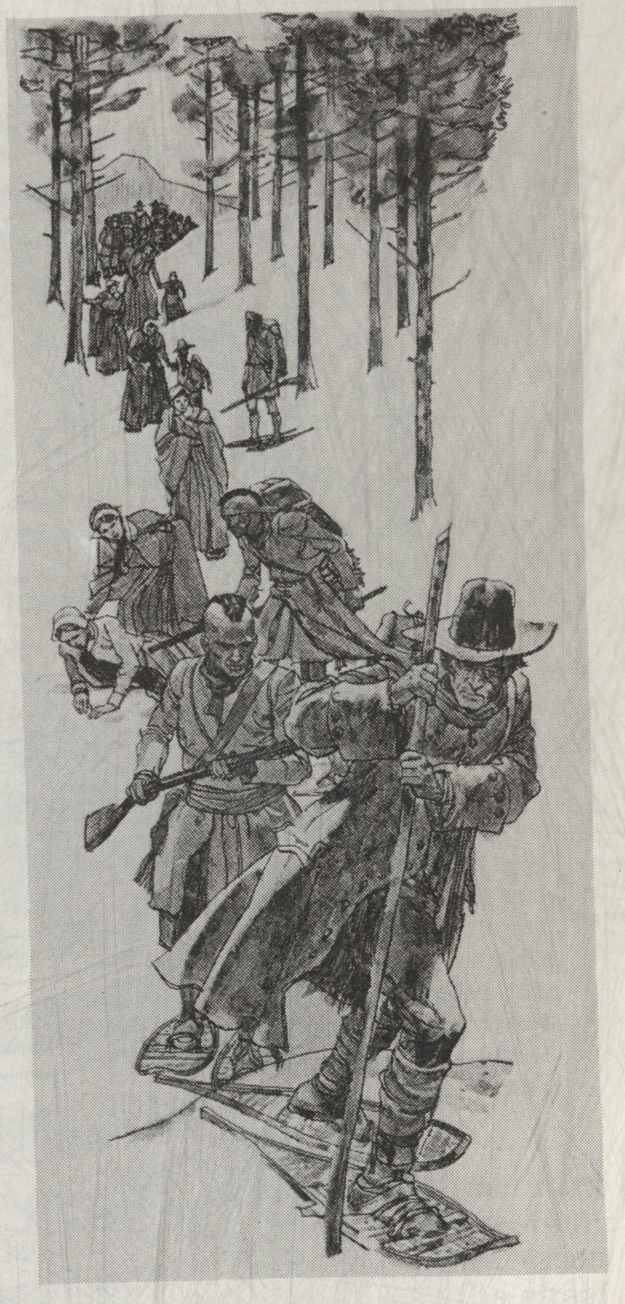
The Kanienkehaka fought as a group. They went directly to the church and secured their bell. They then withdrew



through the village with the bell and retired from the fight. The fighting soon became intense. The English awoke at the first onslaught of the attack and fought the attackers in full force. Just as the light of dawn was about to break over the horizon, the French and Abenaki finally decided to withdraw over the walls. By the time that the French and Abenaki pulled away from the town, forty nine English had been killed. There is no record as to how many French and natives were killed.

The Kanienkehaka and Abenaki took a number of captives and brought them back to their own settlements. One family captured by the Kanienkehaka was the family of the Rev. John Williams who had purchased the stolen bell.

The bell was left in the woods of northern Vermont. The following spring a party of Kahnawake men went to Vermont and brought the bell to Kahnawake. The bell was hoisted in the church. Some of the Deerfield captives were turned over to the French to be used as exchange prisoners. One woman from Deerfield, Eunice Williams, was adopted into a Kahnawake family. She learned to live as a Kanienkehaka and refused to leave Kahnawake and join her former family in Deerfield. While Eunice Williams seems to have become a dutiful Mohawk woman, some of her descendants became traitors to the Mohawk Nation.



Sr. William Johnson Bart.
Major General of the English Forces
in North America.

4. King George's War

The third war between the French and the English fought in North America was called King George's War. It was fought between the years 1744 and 1748. By this time the Five Nations had become the Six Nations with the addition of the Tuscarora. King George's War was a conflict between the British and the French over the control of the seas and control of the fur trade. In order to understand what the Mohawk position was in King George's War, and the Seven Years' War that was to follow, it is necessary to look into the affairs of a man, Sir William Johnson. Although he was European, he exerted a great deal of power in the councils of the Mohawk Nation.

Johnson was born in Ireland in 1715. In 1737 he came to America and entered into business with his uncle, Peter Warren. Warren was a merchant with a tract of land near Albany on the edge of Kanienkeh.

In 1738 Johnson and twelve families went up the Mohawk River to establish a settlement. By 1740 Johnson had opened a trading post and became involved in the fur trade. Previous to this, all trade was either at Albany or Montreal. Now Johnson's trading post became an alternative spot for the Kanienkehaka to trade at.

Sir William Johnson Gained The Respect Of The Kanienkehaka. Johnson was well liked by the Kanienkehaka. He traded fairly, gave a good price for the furs that he received, and never tried to cheat the native people by providing them with liquor before deals were made. For all of this he gained the respect of Mohawk people.

The Kanienkehaka gave Johnson a Mohawk name, Warraghiyagey. He took a Mohawk wife, Molly Brant, and had children with her. Johnson was a fluent speaker of the Mohawk language and understood the political, social and cultural system of the Iroquois Confederacy.

One of his closest friends was the Mohawk chief, Hendrick. On one occasion Hendrick remarked about Johnson:

> He has large ears and he heareth a great deal. And what he hears he tells us. He also has large eyes, and sees a great way, and coneals nothing from us, we had him in wartime, when he was like a tree that grew for our use, which now seems to be falling down, though it has many roots. His knowledge of our affairs made us think him one of us, and we are greatly afraid. *3*

Johnson Tried To Divide And Control The Kanienkehaka. Hendrick and the rest of the Mohawk Nation had a great deal of reason to be afraid of Johnson. They allowed him to settle

within their territory, treated him as a friend, and he in turn had one plan for the Kanienkehaka. Johnson's plan was to split the northern Kanienkehaka from those in the south, and thus break the power of the Mohawk Nation. This in turn would cripple the power of the Iroquois Confederacy. Johnson would be in a perfect position then to manipulate the Kanienkehaka into a situation where they would rely upon the English. The Kanienkehaka would then become subjects of the King of England to be used as the English saw fit. Johnson's knowledge of Iroquois affairs placed him in just the position to do this damage.

At this time, around the year 1740, the Kanienkehaka were settled at Kahnawake and Kanesatake in the north, and along the Mohawk River in the south. The northern Kanienkehaka and the southern Kanienkehaka were all part of the same Mohawk Nation, even though the northern Kanienkehaka were Catholics, and the southern Kanienkehaka were either traditionalists or Protestants. Nevertheless, the two regions of the Mohawk Nation got along well.

The northern Kanienkehaka traded their furs at Albany and Montreal. Neither the French nor the English liked this situation. The English wanted the Kanienkehaka to trade their furs at Albany, or at Johnson's trading post. The French wanted all the Kanienkehaka to trade at Montreal. The reason that the Kanienkehaka did not trade exclusively at either one of these places is quite simple.

By threatening to trade in Albany, the Kanienkehaka could force the fur buyers in Montreal to offer a higher price. Likewise, by not bringing all of their furs to Albany, the Kanienkehaka could force a higher price out of the Albany merchants.

Johnson Wanted The Kanienkehaka To Bring All Their Furs To His Post. Johnson was a greedy man. He wanted all of the Kanienkehaka to bring their furs to his trading post. The Kanienkehaka knew that Johnson was an honest trader, but they insisted upon the right to sell their furs wherever they pleased. The northern Kanienkehaka from Kahnawake and Kanesatake brought most of their furs intended for the English market to Albany instead of to Johnson's post. This made Johnson very angry.

Johnson tried to convince the Kanienkehaka that the northern Kanienkehaka were traitors to the Mohawk Nation. He referred to the Kahnawake people as French Indians, Praying Indians, or as belonging to the Seven Nations of Canada. Johnson refused to deal with the fact that by the middle of the eighteenth century, the majority

of the Mohawk people were living in the northern part of Kanienkeh at Kahnawake and Kanesatake. By the time of King George's War, the northern Mohawk settlements had about 2000 people, while the Kanienkehaka living in the Mohawk Valley numbered about 600.

In 1744 the French and English were at war again. During the first year of the war, the Kanienkehaka did not become involved in the fighting. They listened to the pleas of the English but refused to join in on the fight. The Kanienkehaka were only interested in the trade with Albany, not in fighting wars for the Englishmen who were collecting Mohawk scalps.

In January of 1745, a rumor spread throughout Kanienkeh that the English were going to attack the Mohawk Valley because the Kanienkehaka refused to fight for the English. The southern Kanienkehaka immediately mobilized and brought a sizable fighting force together to throw back the English attack, if it ever came. The rumor proved not to be true, and the warriors returned to their own settlements.

Even though the 1745 scare was a false alarm, it showed the English that the Kanienkehaka were a powerful force to deal with. Johnson was impressed, he knew that this single power must be broken, or else the English would never gain control over Iroquois territory.

Johnson Convinced Some Younger Warriors To Follow The English. Throughout the year of 1746, Johnson worked at dividing the Kanienkehaka. He first tried to convince the elders that the Kanienkehaka should go to war with the English against the French. The official position of the Confederacy was one of neutrality. The elders respected this position and would not agree to Johnson's wishes. Johnson then appealed to the young men.

Without the maturity and wisdom to listen to the advice of the elders and the Grand Council, these younger Kanienkehaka listened to Johnson and were taken in with his calls to war. In July of 1746, Johnson entered the village of Tiononderoge on the Mohawk River and asked the warriors to follow him in an attack on the French in Canada. Some warriors agreed to follow. Johnson then traveled with these warriors to the village of Canajoharie, where his old friend Hendrick lived. He hoped to get support from the old chief in recruiting warriors to fight the French.

The Kanienkehaka met in council to hear Johnson. A decision was made to remain neutral, as this was in the best interests of the Mohawk Nation. Johnson was then told that the Kanienkehaka could not attack the French, be-

cause the Grand Council had decided that the Six Nations would remain neutral. Hendrick explained to Johnson that to go against the Grand Council would be to destroy the Confederacy.

Johnson knew this. This was exactly what he was trying to do. Johnson's one object was to get the Kanienkehaka divided and isolated from the rest of the Confederacy so that they would do all that he wanted. The Grand Council warned the Mohawk warriors who were following Johnson to change their ways, reminding them that their numbers were small compared to the warriors throughout the rest of the Six Nations. The warriors following Johnson ignored the warning from the Grand Council and boldly replied:

> It is true we are less considerable as to the number of the other nations, but our hearts are truly English. *4*

These warriors under Johnson's directions moved with some of their families to Albany. There they were under the protection of the English. The governor of New York told these Mohawk warriors that a great English army had arrived in New York and was about to join them in their attack on Canada. No army arrived. The English had lied. The Mohawk fighting force that Johnson had raised, against the will of the Grand Council and against the will of the Mohawk council, was now without support. Soon the warriors and their families caught smallpox and their strength was broken. Johnson's plan was not successful.

The Northern And Southern Kanienkehaka Reaffirmed Friendship. Hendrick was a friend of Johnson's but he was a Kanienkehaka first. During the time when Johnson was trying to split the Mohawk Nation, Hendrick went north to Kahnawake to confer with the northern chiefs. His meetings in the north were partially successful. The northern and southern Kanienkehaka both agreed to maintain a position of neutrality. They recognized that the Kanienkehaka should never become involved in fighting each other. They knew that the power of the Confederacy was at stake if they allowed an Englishman like Johnson to split them.

What Johnson wanted most was for Kahnawake to attack the southern Kanienkehaka. Then he would be able to say that the Mohawk Nation was divided. His writings are full of references to the fact that his power depended upon this kind of treachery.

Johnson almost had his wish. In 1748, near the end of King George's War, a party of Kanienkehaka from Kahnawake were hunting in the regions around Mount Johnson. They encountered a party of Kanienkehaka from

Tiononderoge and a fight broke out. The fight was not a matter of the northern Kanienkehaka fighting the southern Kanienkehaka, but a personal matter. One of the southern Kanienkehaka, a man by the name of Gingego, was killed in this action.

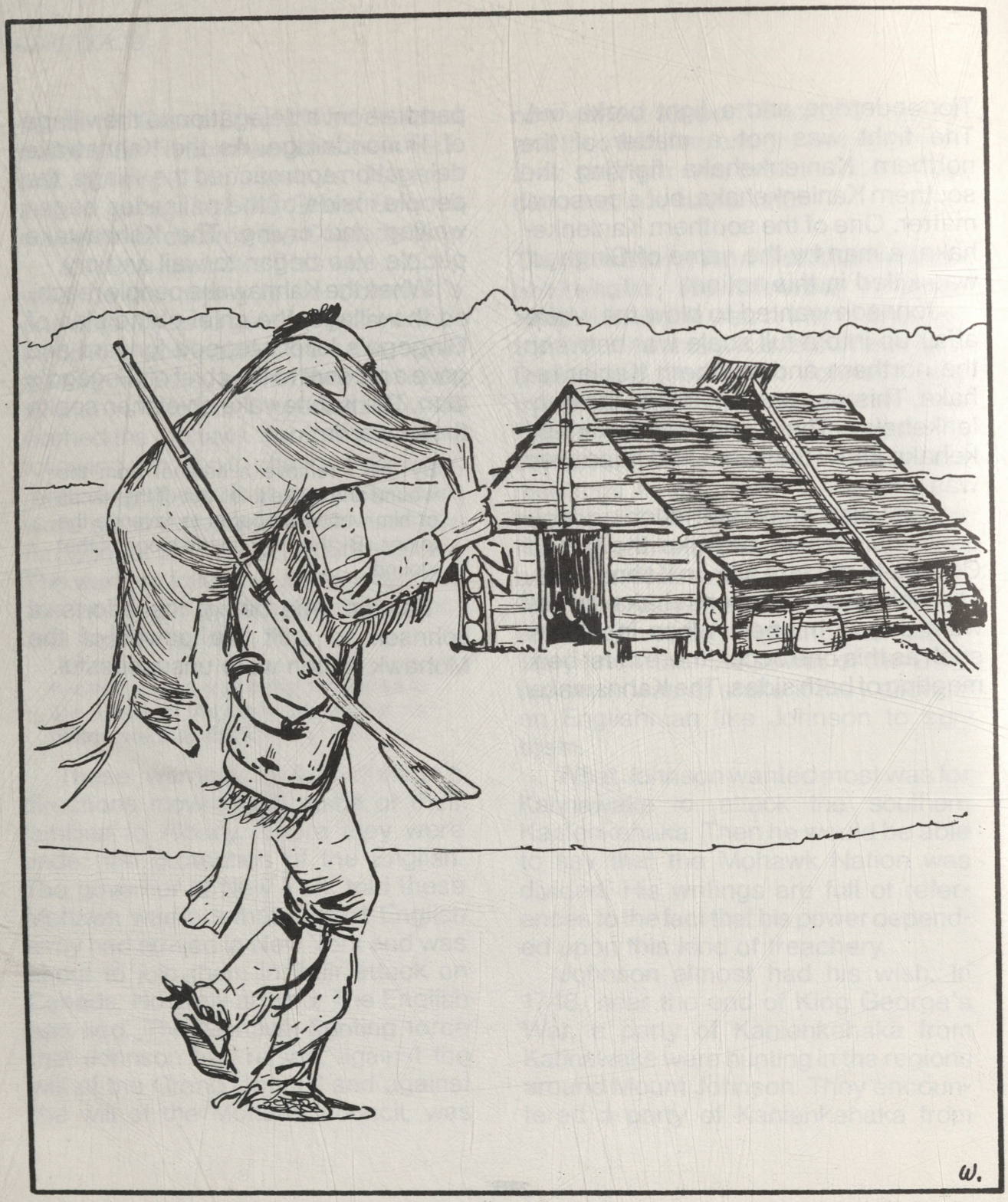
Johnson wanted to blow the whole affair up into a full scale war between the northern and southern Kanienkehaka. This was unthinkable to the Kanienkehaka. The Kahnawake Kanienkehaka knew that what had happened was wrong.

They also knew that such an incident could easily provoke the Grand Council to declare war on Kahnawake. The Kahnawake Kanienkehaka did not want this to happen. When incidents such as this one occur, there must be a meeting of both sides. The Kahnawake people sent a delegation to the village of Tiononderoge. As the Kahnawake delegation approached the village, the people inside of the palisades began wailing and crying. The Kahnawake people also began to wail and cry.

When the Kahnawake people reached the village, the chief of the clan of Gingego's killer stepped forward and gave a present to the chief of Gingego's clan. The Kahnawake chief then spoke these words:

> By this I remove a hatchet from the wound and make it fall out of the hands of him who is prepared to revenge the injury... Bv this I dry up the blood of that wound. [5]

For the time being, the efforts of Johnson to split the power of the Mohawk Nation were unsuccessful.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Chapter 14
Mohawk Migration And Expansion

After the Peace of 1701 the French had learned a valuable lesson in dealing with the Confederacy. The Confederacy had also learned a valuable lesson in their dealings with the French and English. Although the French had treated the Kanienkehaka better than the English, the Kanienkehaka did not completely trust them.

This chapter looks at:

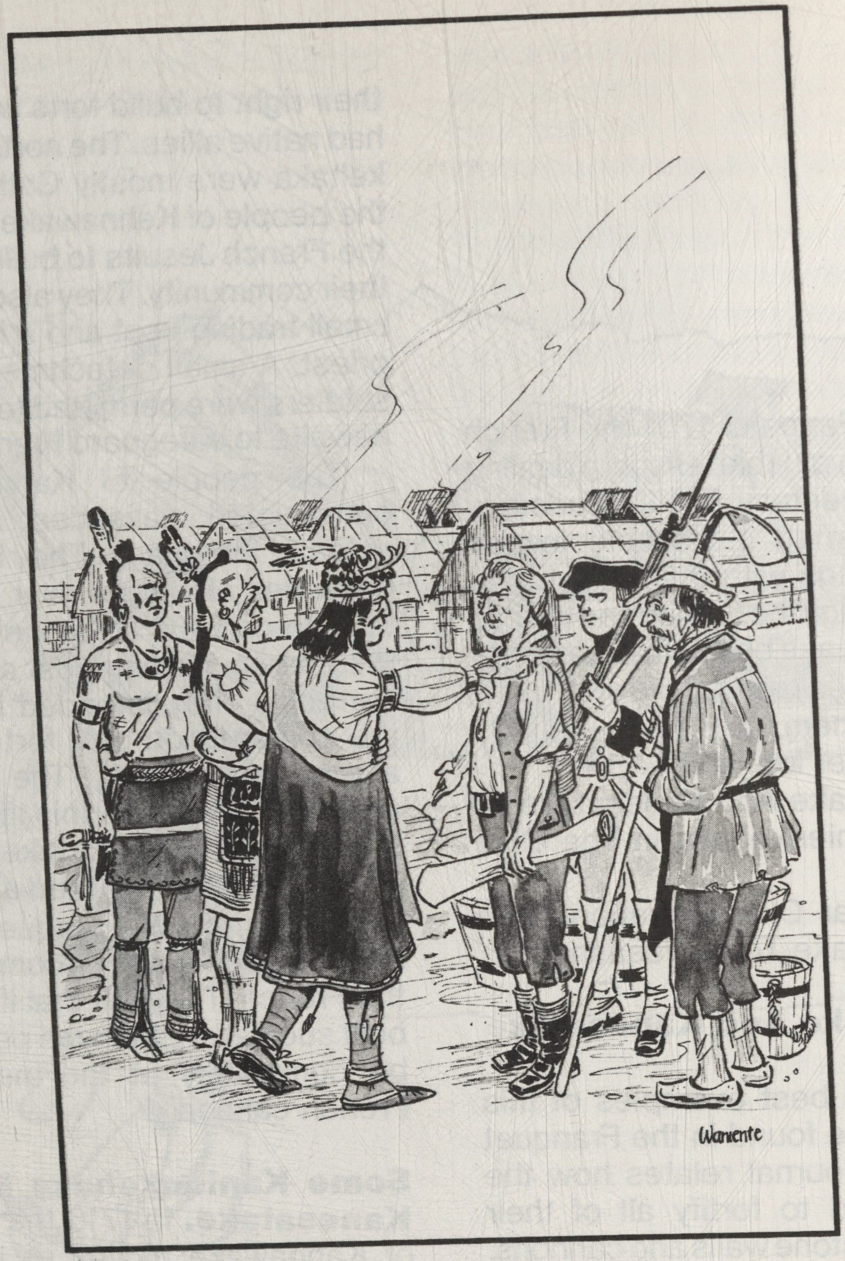
1. Kahnawake And Kanesatake
2. The Kanienkehaka In The Ohio Country
3. The Bear Clan Migration From Kahnawake To Akwesasne

1. Kahnawake And Kanesatake

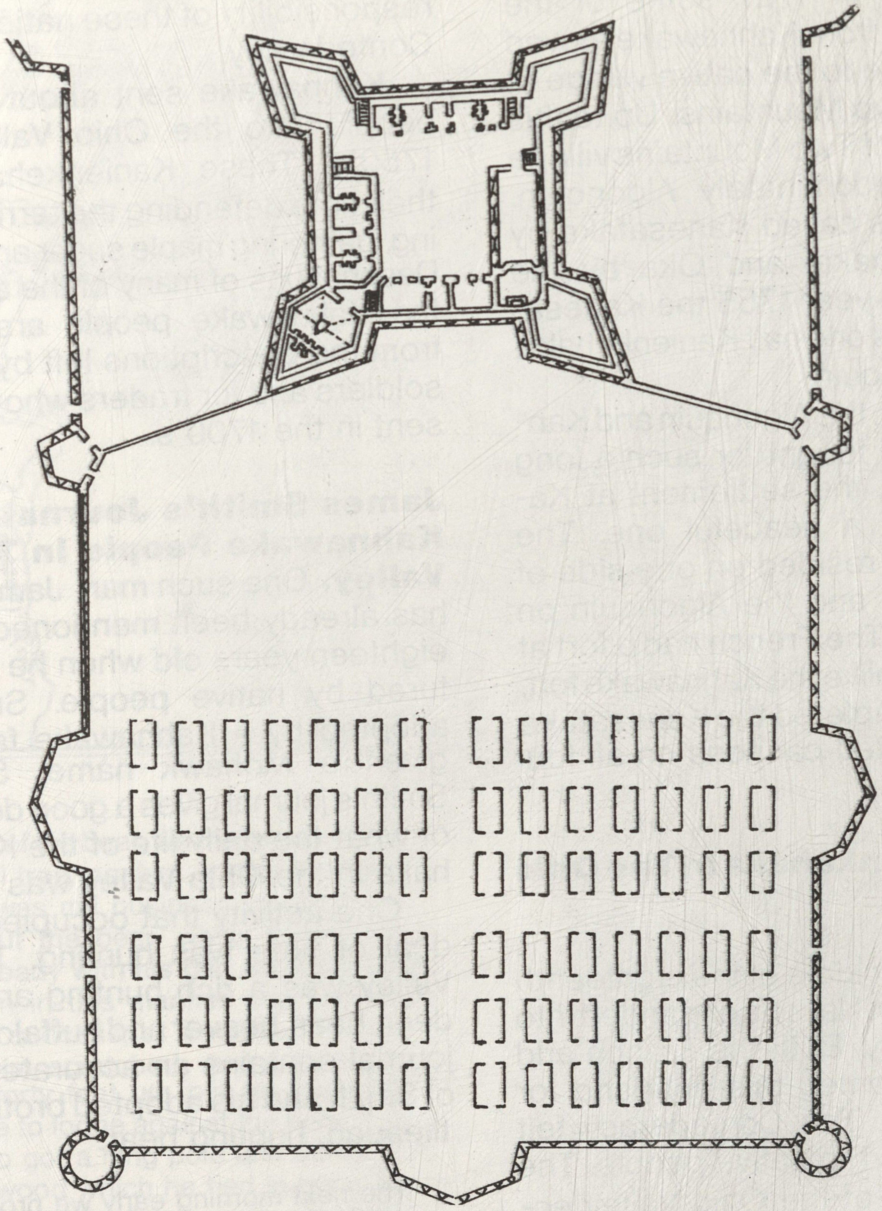
One of the best examples of this mistrust can be found in the Franquet Journal. This journal relates how the French wanted to fortify all of their positions with stone walls and cannons. The French were famous in these years for their engineering skill in constructing forts. The French regarded it as their right to build forts wherever they had native allies. The northern Kanienkehaka were mostly Catholic, and so the people of Kahnawake had allowed the French Jesuits to build a church in their community. They also permitted a small trading post and a home for the priest. A small detachment of French soldiers were permitted to stay in Kahnawake to safeguard French property.

The people of Kahnawake had constructed palisades around two sides of the village. They had not built palisades along the river. The French tried to construct a stone wall around the church, trading post and soldiers' barracks. They intended to complete the construction of a fort all the way around this property. The Kahnawake people did not allow this to take place. They made the French take down some of the walls that they had already built. According to Mr. Franquet, the Kahnawake people did not completely trust the French. They felt that if the French built such a fort, then the people would be completely at the mercy of the French cannon.

Some Kanienkehaka Moved To Kanesatake. In 1716 the settlement of Kahnawake moved to its present location. The land between Kahnawake and Kentake was still used for farming and as a source of firewood,



Kahnawake rejects a fortified Sault St.-Louis, 1749.



French fortifications at Kanesatake. The Mohawk occupied the left part of the diagram, the Algonquin the right.

but the settlement was never to be moved again. In 1721 some of the Kanienkehaka from Kahnawake moved across the lake to the native village at the Lake of Two Mountains. Up to this time the Lake of Two Mountains village had been predominately Algonquin. This place was called Kanesatake by the Kanienkehaka, and Oka by the French. By the year 1755 the Kanesatake village was one half Kanienkehaka, one half Algonquin.

Even though the Algonquin and Kanienkehaka had fought for such a long period of time, the settlement at Kanesatake was a peaceful one. The Kanienkehaka resided on one side of the settlement and the Algonquin on the other side. The French had a fort at Kanesatake. Unlike the Kahnawake fort, the French completed the Kanesatake fort and mounted cannons on all four corners.

2. The Kanienkehaka In The Ohio Valley

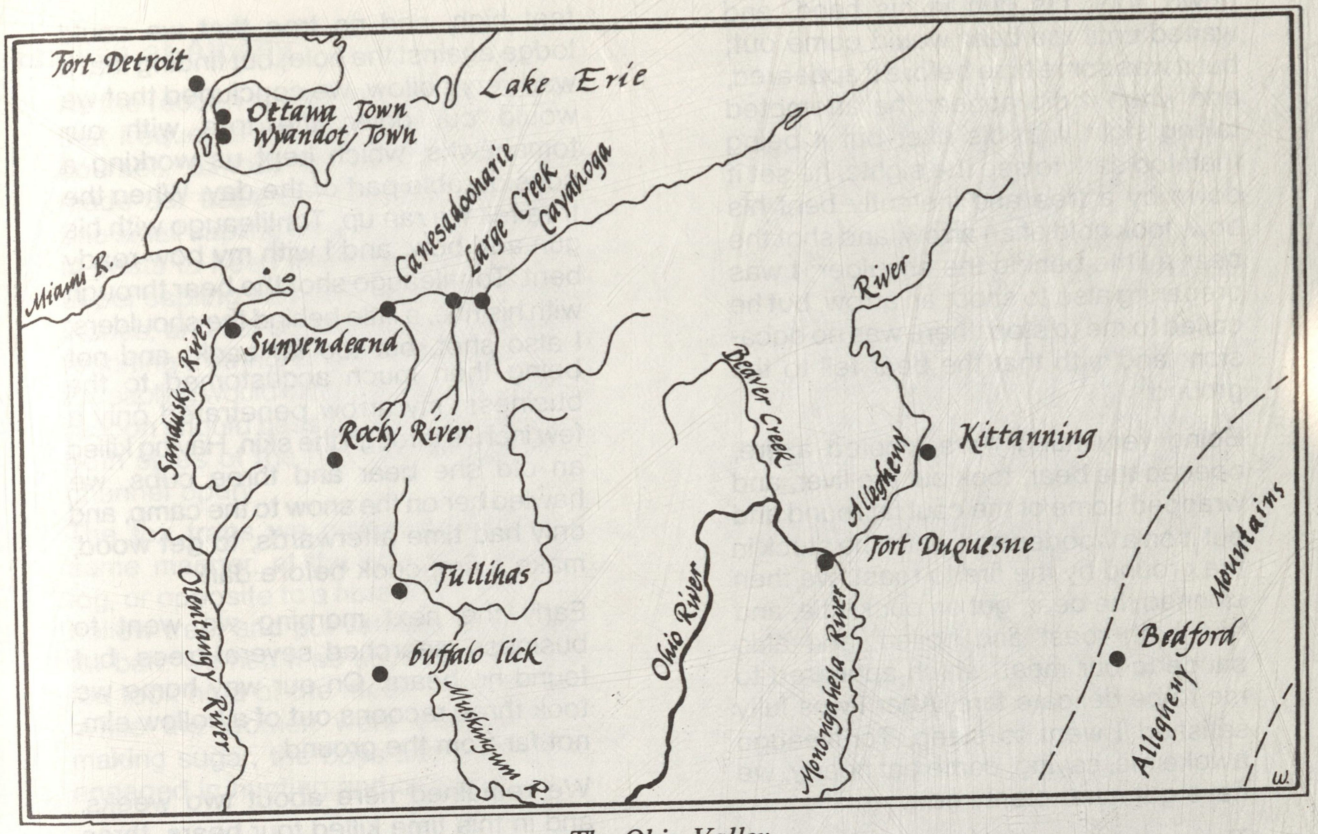
During the middle of the eighteenth century, the Six Nations expanded into the Ohio Valley. Both the French and the English wanted this rich land for their own use. The Confederacy felt that it belonged to native people. The native nations of the Ohio Valley entered into the covenant chain with the Confederacy. The protection of the valley from European invasion was the responsibility of these nations and the Confederacy.

Kahnawake sent about 200 of its people into the Ohio Valley in the 1750's. These Kanienkehaka spent their time defending the territory, hunting, gathering maple sugar and planting. Descriptions of many of the activities of the Kahnawake people are available from the descriptions left by captives, soldiers and fur traders who were present in the 1700's.

James Smith's Journal Tells Of Kahnawake People In The Ohio Valley. One such man, James Smith, has already been mentioned. He was eighteen years old when he was captured by native people. Smith was adopted by a Kahnawake family and given a Mohawk name, Scoouwa. Smith's journal gives a good description of what the daily life of the Kanienkehaka in the Ohio Valley was like.

One activity that occupied a great deal of time was hunting. The Ohio Valley was a rich hunting area full of deer, bear, beaver and buffalo. Smith's journal contains an accurate account of Smith and his adopted brother, Tontileaugo, hunting bear:

> The next morning early we proceeded on, and when we found a tree scratched by the bear's climbing up, and the hole in the tree sufficiently large for the re-



The Ohio Valley

ception of the bear, we then fell a sapling or small tree, against or near the hole; and it was my business to climb and drive out the bear, while Tontileaugo stood ready with his gun and bow. We went on in this manner until evening without success; at length we found a large elm scratched, and a hole in it about forty feet up; but no tree nigh, suitable to lodge against the hole. Tontileaugo got a long pole and some dry rotten wood which he tied in bunches, with bark, and as there was a tree that grew near the elm, and extended up near the hole; but leaned the wrong way; so that we could not lodge it to our advantage; but to remedy this inconvenience, he climbed up this tree and carried with him his rotten wood, fire and pole. The rotten wood he tied to his belt, and to one end of the pole he tied a hook, and a piece of rotten wood which he set fire to, as would retain fire almost like spunk; and reached this hook from limb to limb as he went up; when he got up, with the pole he put dry wood on fire into the hole, after he put in the fire he heard the bear snuff and he came speedily

down, took his gun in his hand, and waited until the bear would come out; but it was some time before it appeared, and when it did appear, he attempted taking sight with his rifle; but it being then too dark to see the sights, he set it down by a tree and instantly bent his bow, took hold of an arrow, and shot the bear a little behind the shoulder; I was preparing also to shoot an arrow, but he called to me to stop, there was no occasion; and with that the bear fell to the ground.

Being very hungry we kindled a fire, opened the bear, took out the liver, and wrapped some of the caul fat round and put it on a wooden spit which he stuck in the ground by the fire to roast, we then skinned the bear, got on our kettle, and had both roast and boiled, and also sauce to our meat, which appeared to me to be delicate fare. After I was fully satisfied I went to sleep, Tontileaugo awoke me, saying, come eat hearty, we have got meat plenty now.

The next morning we cut down a lynn tree, peeled bark and made a snug little shelter, facing the south east, with a large log betwixt us and the north west; we made a good fire before us, and scaffolded up our meat at one side. – When we had finished our camp we went out to hunt, searched two trees for bears, but to no purpose. As the snow thawed a little in the afternoon Tontileaugo killed a deer, which he carried with us to camp.

The next day we turned out to hunt, and near the camp we found a tree well scratched; but the hole was above forty feet high, and no tree that we could lodge against the hole; but finding that it was very hollow, we concluded that we would cut down the tree with our tomahawks, which kept us working a considerable part of the day. When the tree fell we ran up, Tonlileaugo with his gun and bow, and I with my bow ready bent. Tontileaugo shot the bear through with his rifle, a little behind the shoulders; I also shot, but too far back; and not being then much accustomed to the business, my arrow penetrated only a few inches through the skin. Having killed an old she bear and three cubs, we hawled her on the snow to the camp, and only had time afterwards, to get wood, make a fire, cook before dark.

Early the next morning we went to business, searched several trees, but found no bears. On our way home we took three racoons out of a hollow elm, not far from the ground.

We remained here about two weeks, and in this time killed four bears, three deer, several turkeys, and a number of racoons. We packed up as much meat as we could carry, and returned to our cabin. On arrival, there was a great joy, as they were all in a starving condition, – the three hunters that we had left having killed but very little. – All that could carry a pack repaired to our camp to bring in meat. [1]

Smaller game such as racoon, beaver and fox were also hunted. The meat was either eaten immediately or preserved. The skins were treated and brought back to Montreal for trade with the French, or else traded with the

English at Albany:

> As the racoon is a kind of water animal, that frequents the runs, or small water courses, almost the whole night, we made our traps on the runs, by laying one small sapling on another, and driving in posts to keep them from rolling. The upper sapling we raised about eighteen inches, and set so, that on the racoon's touching a string, or small piece of bark, the sapling would fall and kill it; and lest the racoon should pass by, we laid brush on both sides of the run, only leaving the channel open.
>
> The fox traps we made nearly in the same manner, at the end of a hollow log, or opposite to a hole at the root of a hollow tree, and put venison on a stick for bait: we had it so set that when the fox took hold of the meat, the trap fell. While the women were employed in making sugar, the boys and men were engaged in hunting and trapping. *2*

On one occasion Smith and his adopted brother, Tecaughretanego, hunted beaver. An argument developed as to the natural lifestyle of this aquatic mammal:

> It is a received opinion among the Indians, that the geese turn to beavers, and the snakes to racoons; and though Tecaughretanego, who was a wise man, was not fully persuaded that this was true; yet he seemed in some measure to be carried away with this whimsical notion. He said that this pond had been always a great place of beaver. Though he said he knew them to be frequently all killed, (as he thought;) yet the next winter they would be as plenty as ever. And as the beaver was an animal that did not travel by land, and there being no water communication, to, or from this pond – how could such a number of beavers get there year after year? But as this pond was also a considerable place for geese, when they came in the fall from the north, and alighted in this pond, they turned beavers, all but the feet, which remained nearly the same.
>
> I said, that though there was no water communication, in, or out of this pond; yet it appeared that it was fed by springs, as it was always clear and never stagnated: and as a very large spring rose about a mile below this pond, it was likely that this spring came from this pond. In the fall, when this spring is comparatively low, there would be air under ground sufficient for the beavers to breathe in, with their heads above water, for they cannot live long under water, and so they might have a subterraneous passage by water into this pond. – Tecaughretanego granted that it might be so.
>
> About the sides of this pond there grew great abundance of cranberries, which the Indians gathered up on the ice, when the pond was frozen over. These berries were about as large as rifle bullets – of a bright red color – an agreeable sour, though rather too sour of themselves; but when mixed with sugar, had a very agreeable taste.
>
> In conversation with Tecaughretanego, I happened to be talking of the beavers' catching fish. He asked me why I thought that the beaver caught fish? I told him

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that I had read of the beaver making dams for the conveniency of fishing. He laughed, and made game of me and my book. He said the man that wrote that book knew nothing about the beaver. The beaver never did eat flesh of any kind; but lived on the bark of trees, roots, and other vegetables.

In order to know certainly how this was, when we killed a beaver I carefully examined the intestines but found no appearance of fish; I afterwards made an experiment on a pet beaver which we had, and found that it would neither eat fish or flesh; therefore I acknowledged that the book I had read was wrong.

I asked him if the beaver was an amphibious animal, or if it could live under water? He said that the beaver was a kind of subterraneous water animal, that lives in or near the water; but they were no more amphibious than the ducks and geese were – which was constantly proven to be the case; as all the beavers that are caught in steel traps are drowned, provided the trap be heavy enough to keep them under water. As the beaver does not eat fish, I inquired of Tecaughretanego, why the beaver made such large dams? He said they were of use to them in various respects – both for their safety and food. For their safety, as by raising the water over the mouths of their holes, or subterraneous lodging places, they could not be easily found: and as the beaver feeds chiefly on the bark of trees, by raising the water over the banks, they can cut down saplings for bark to feed upon without going out much upon the land: and when they are obliged to go out on land for this food they frequently are caught by the wolves. As the beaver can run upon land, but little faster than a water tortoise, and is no fighting animal, if they are any distance from the water they become an easy prey to their enemies.

I asked Tecaughretanego, what was the use of the beaver's stones, or glands, to them; – as the she beaver has two pair, which is commonly called the oil stones, and the bark stones? He said that as the beaver are the dumbest of all animals, and scarcely ever made any noise; and as they were working creatures, they made use of this smell in order to work in concert. If an old beaver was to come on the bank and rub his breech upon the ground, and raise a perfume, the others will collect from different places and go to work: this is also of use to them in travelling, that they may thereby search out and find their company. Cunning hunters finding this out, have made use of them. What is the bait which you see them make use of, but a compound of the oil and bark stones? By this perfume, which is only a false signal they decoy them to the trap.

Near this pond, beaver was the principal game. Before the waters froze up, we caught a great many with wooden and steel traps: but after that, we hunted the beaver on the ice. Some places here the beaver build large houses to live in; and in other places they have subterraneous lodgings in the banks. Where they lodge in the ground we have no chance of hunting them on the ice; but where they have houses we go with malls and handspikes, and break all the hollow ice, to prevent them from getting their heads

above the water under it. Then we break a hole in the house, and they make their escape into the water; but as they cannot live long under water, they are obliged to go to some of those broken places to breathe, and the Indians commonly put in their hands, catch them by the hind leg, hawl them on the ice, and tomahawk them. Sometimes they shoot them in the head, when they raise it above the water. I asked the Indians if they were not afraid to catch the beavers with their hands? they said no: they were not much of a biting creature; yet if they would catch them by the foot they would bite. [3]

Smith's journal contains a remarkable description of Mohawk women collecting maple sugar:

In this month we began to make sugar. As some of elm bark will strip at this season, the women after finding a tree that would do, cut it down, and with a crooked stick broad and sharp at the end, took the bark off the tree, and of this bark, made vessels in a curious manner, that would hold about two gallons each: they made above one hundred of these kind of vessels. In the sugar-tree they cut a notch, slooping down, and at the end of the notch, stuck in the place where they stuck the tomahawk, they drove a long chip, in order to carry the water out from the tree, and under this they set their vessel to receive it. As sugar trees were plenty and large here, they seldom or never notched a tree that was not two or three feet over. They also made bark vessels for carrying the water, that would hold about four gallons each. They had two brass kettles, that held about fifteen gallons each, and other smaller kettles in which they boiled the water. But as they could not at all times boil away the water as fast as it was collected, they made vessels of bark, that would hold about one hundred gallons each, for retaining the water; and tho' the sugar trees did not run every day, they had always a sufficient quantity of water to keep them boiling during the whole sugar season.

The way that we commonly used our sugar while encamped, was by putting it in bears fat until the fat was almost as sweet as the sugar itself, and in this we dipped our roasted venison. About this time some of the Indian lads and myself, were employed in making and attending traps for catching racoons, foxes, wild cats, etc.

Smith also indicates that there were times when the Kanienkehaka did not have brass or iron kettles with which to make sugar. Even this did not hinder them, however:

We had no large kettles with us this year, and they made the forest, in some measure, supply the place of fire, in making sugar. Their large bark vessels, for holding the stock water, they made broad and shallow; and as the weather is very cold here, it frequently freezes at night in sugar time; and the ice they break and cast out of the vessels. I asked them if they were not throwing away the sugar? they said no: it was water they were casting away sugar did not freeze,

and there was scarcely any in that ice. They said I might try the experiment, and boil some of it, and see what I would get. I never did try it; but I observed that after several times freezing, the water that remained in the vessel, changed its colour and became brown and very sweet. 4

There were herds of wild horses in the Ohio Valley, Tontileaugo felt that he could run these horses down:

Tontileaugo said he had run down bears, buffaloes and elks: and in the great plains, with only a small snow on the ground, he had run down a deer; and he thought that in one whole day, he could tire, or run down any four footed animal except a wolf. I told him that though a deer was the swiftest animal to run a short distance, yet it would tire sooner than a horse. He said he would at all events try the experiment. He had heard the Wiandots say, that I could run well, and now he would see whether I could or not. I told him that I never had run all day, and of course was not accustomed to that way of running. I never had run with the Wiandots, more than seven of eight miles at one time. He said that was nothing, we must either catch these horses, or run all day.

In the morning early we left camp, and about sunrise we started after them, stripped naked excepting breech-clouts and mockasons. About ten o'clock I lost sight of both Tontileaugo and the horses, and did not see them again until about three o'clock in the afternoon. As the horses run all day, in

about three or four miles square, at length they passed where I was and I fell in close after them. As I then had a long rest, I endeavored to keep ahead of Tontileaugo, and after some time I could hear him after me calling chakoh, chakoanaugh, which signifies, pull away or do your best. I pursued on, and after some time Tontileaugo passed me, and about an hour before sundown, we despaired of catching these horses and returned to camp where we had left our clothes.

I reminded Tontileaugo of what I had told him; he replied he did not know what horses could do. They are wonderful strong to run; but withal we made them very tired. Tontileaugo then concluded he would do as the Indians did with wild horses, when out at war: which is to shoot them through the neck under the mane, and above the bone, which will cause them to fall and lie until they can halter them, and then they recover again. This he attempted to do; but as the mare was very wild, he could not get sufficiently nigh to shoot her in the proper place; however he shot, the ball passed too low, and killed her. As the horse and colt stayed at this place, we caught the horse, and took him and the colt with us to camp. *5*

The Ohio Valley nations lived in tipis or wigwams made of bark and skins. The Kanienkehaka, however, brought a variant of their longhouses with them to the Ohio:

They cut logs about fifteen feet long, and laid these longs upon each other, and drove posts in the ground at each end to keep them together; the posts they tied together at the top with bark, and by this means raised a wall fifteen feet long, and about four feet high, and in the manner they raised another wall opposite to this, at about twelve feet distance; then they drove forks in the ground in the centre of each end, and laid a strong pole from end to end on these forks; and from these walls to the poles, they set up poles instead of rafters, and on these they tied small poles in place of laths; and a cover was made of lynn bark which will run even in the winter season.

As every tree will not run, they examine the tree first, by trying it near the ground, and when they find it will do, they fall the tree and raise the bark with the tomahawk, near the top of the tree about five or six inches broad, then put the tomahawk handle under this bark, and pull it along down to the butt of the tree; so that some times one piece of bark will be thirty feet long; this bark they cut at suitable lengths in order to cover the hut.

At the end of these walls they set up split timber, so that they had timber all round, excepting a door at each end. At the top, in place of a chimney, they left an open place, and for bedding they laid down the aforesaid kind of bark, on which they spread bear skins. From end to end of this hut along the middle there were fires, which the women made of dry split wood, and the holes or open places that appeared, the women stopped with moss, which they collected from old logs; and at the door they hung a bear skin; and notwithstanding the winters are hard here, our lodging was much better than

what I expected.

Some of the Kanienkehaka were Catholic while some were Protestant. Others were followers of the traditional religion of the Kanienkehaka. While Smith was traveling with Tecaughretanego, he witnessed the ancient sweat lodge ritual performance:

> When we encamped, Tecaughretanego made himself a sweat house; which he did by sticking a number of hoops in the ground, each hoop forming a semi-circle – this he covered all around with blankets and skins; he then prepared hot stones, which he rolled into this hut, and then went into it himself, with a little kettle of water in his hand, mixed with a variety of herbs, which he had formerly cured, and had now with him in his pack – they afforded an odoriferous perfume. When he was in, he told me to pull down the blankets behind him, and cover all up close, which I did, and then he began to pour water upon the hot stones and to sing aloud. He continued in this vehement hot place about fifteen minutes: – all this he did in order to purify himself before he would address the Supreme Being. When he came out of his sweat house, he began to burn tobacco and pray. He began each petition with oh, ho, ho, ho, which is a kind of aspiration, and signifies an ardent wish. I observed that all his petitions were only for immediate or present temporal blessing. He began his address by thanksgiving, in the following manner:
>
> "O great being! I thank thee that I have obtained the use of my legs again – I am

now able to walk about and kill turkeys, etc. without feeling exquisite pain and misery: I know that thou art a hearer and a helper, and therefore I will call upon thee.

"Oh, ho, ho, ho,

"Grant that my knees and ankles may be right well, and that I may be able, not only to walk, but to run, and to jump logs, as I did last fall.

"Oh, ho, ho, ho,

"Grant that on this voyage we may frequently kill bears, as they may be crossing the Sciota and Sandusky.

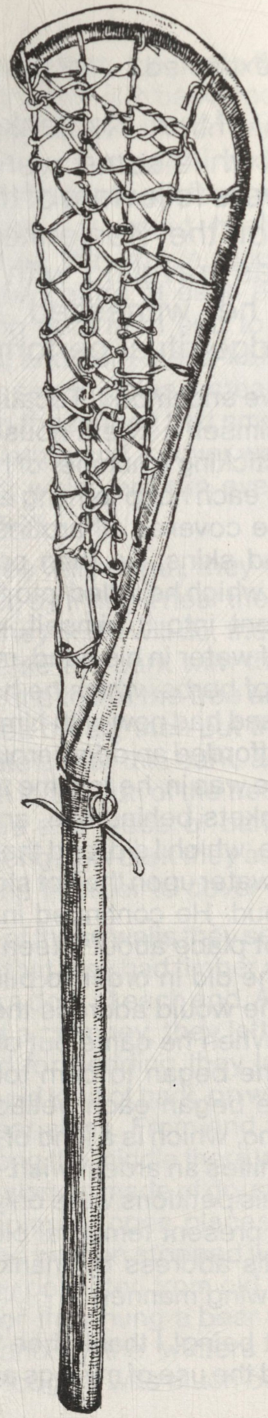
"Oh, ho, ho, ho,

"Grant that we may kill plenty of Turkeys along the banks, to stew with our fat bear meat.

"Oh, ho, ho, ho,

"Grant that rain may come to raise the Ollentangy about two or three feet that we may cross in safety down to Sciota, without danger of our canoe being wrecked on the rocks: – and now, O great being! thou knowest how matters stand — thou knowest that I am a great lover of tobacco, and though I know not when I may get any more, I now make a present of the last I have unto thee, as a free burnt offering; therefore I expect thou wilt hear and grant these requests, and I thy servant will return thee thanks, and love thee for thy gifts. *7*

As Smith notes, not everything that the Kanienkehaka did involved work and religious activities. Both of these activities were important, but so was an occasional recreational game of



lacrosse or a social dance. Smith's Journal contains one of the earliest descriptions of a lacrosse match played by Mohawk men:

> Many of the young men were now exercising themselves in a game resembling foot ball; though they commonly struck the ball with a crooked stick, made for that purpose; also a game something like this, wherein they used a wooden ball about three inches diameter, and the instrument they moved it with was a strong staff about five feet long, with a hoop net on the end of it, large enough to contain the ball. Before they begin the play, they lay off about half a mile distance in a clear plain, and the opposite parties all attend at the centre, where a disinterested person cast up the ball then the opposite parties all contend for it. If any one gets it into his net, he runs with it the way he wishes it to go, and they all pursue him. If one of the opposite party overtakes the person with the ball, he gives the staff a stroke which causes the ball to fly out of the net; then they have another debate for it; and if the one that gets it can outrun all the opposite party, and can carry it quite out, or over the line at the end, the game is won; but this seldom happens. When any one is running away with the ball, and is likely to be overtaken, he commonly throws it, and with this instrument can cast it fifty or sixty yards. Sometimes when the ball is almost at the one end, matters will take a sudden turn, and the opposite party may quickly carry it out at the other end. Often times they will work a long while back and forward before they can get the ball over the line, or win the game. [8]

Smith describes an evening in the lodges of the Kanienkehaka after the hunters had returned to the encampment after a long hunt. Many activities were going on. These included visiting, a gambling game, dancing and sitting in council. The dance described is an old version of the Shaking the Bush Dance:

> All the hunters and warriors continued in town about six weeks after we came in: they spent this time in painting, going from house to house, eating, smoking, and playing at a game resembling dice, or hustle-cap. They put a number of plumb-stones in a small bowl; one side of each stone is black, and the other white; they then shake or hustle the bowl, calling, hits, hits, hits, honesey, honesy, rago, rago: which signifies calling for white or black, or what they wish to turn up; they then turn the bowl, and count the whites and blacks. Some were beating their kind of drum, and singing; others were employed in playing on a sort of flute, made of hollow cane; and others playing on the jews-harp. [9]
>
> The young men stood in one rank, and the young women in another, about one rod apart, facing each other. The one that raised the tune, or started the song, held a small gourd of dry shell of a squash, in his hand, which contained beads or small stones, which rattled. When he began to sing, he timed the tune with his rattle; both men and women danced and sung together, advancing towards each other, stooping until their heads would be touching together, and then ceased

> from dancing, with loud shouts, and retreated and formed again, and so repeated the same thing over and over, for three or four hours, without intermission.
>
> Part of this time was also taken up in attending the council house, where the chiefs, and as many others as chose, attended. *10*

3. The Bear Clan Migration From Kahnawake To Akwesasne

The final migration of the Kanienkehaka in the eighteenth century that needs to be discussed is the migration of the Kanienkehaka to Akwesasne. Akwesasne lands had been at times occupied by the Kanienkehaka before this migration of the Kanienkehaka in the mid 1700's. Archeologists have found evidence of occupation of St. Regis Island, and at the mouth of the Raquette River. The Akwesasne lands were rich in basswood, sweet grass, ash, hickory and wild foods. The river provided a ready source of fish, and the hunting regions around Akwesasne were rich in game.

The pattern of migration was an important feature of traditional Mohawk life. When a settlement became too large, or when the land became exhausted from too much cultivation, the Kanienkehaka simply packed up their belongings and moved to a new location within the national territory of Kanienkeh. In some cases, only part of a settlement moved to a new site while the rest of the population remained in the old site.

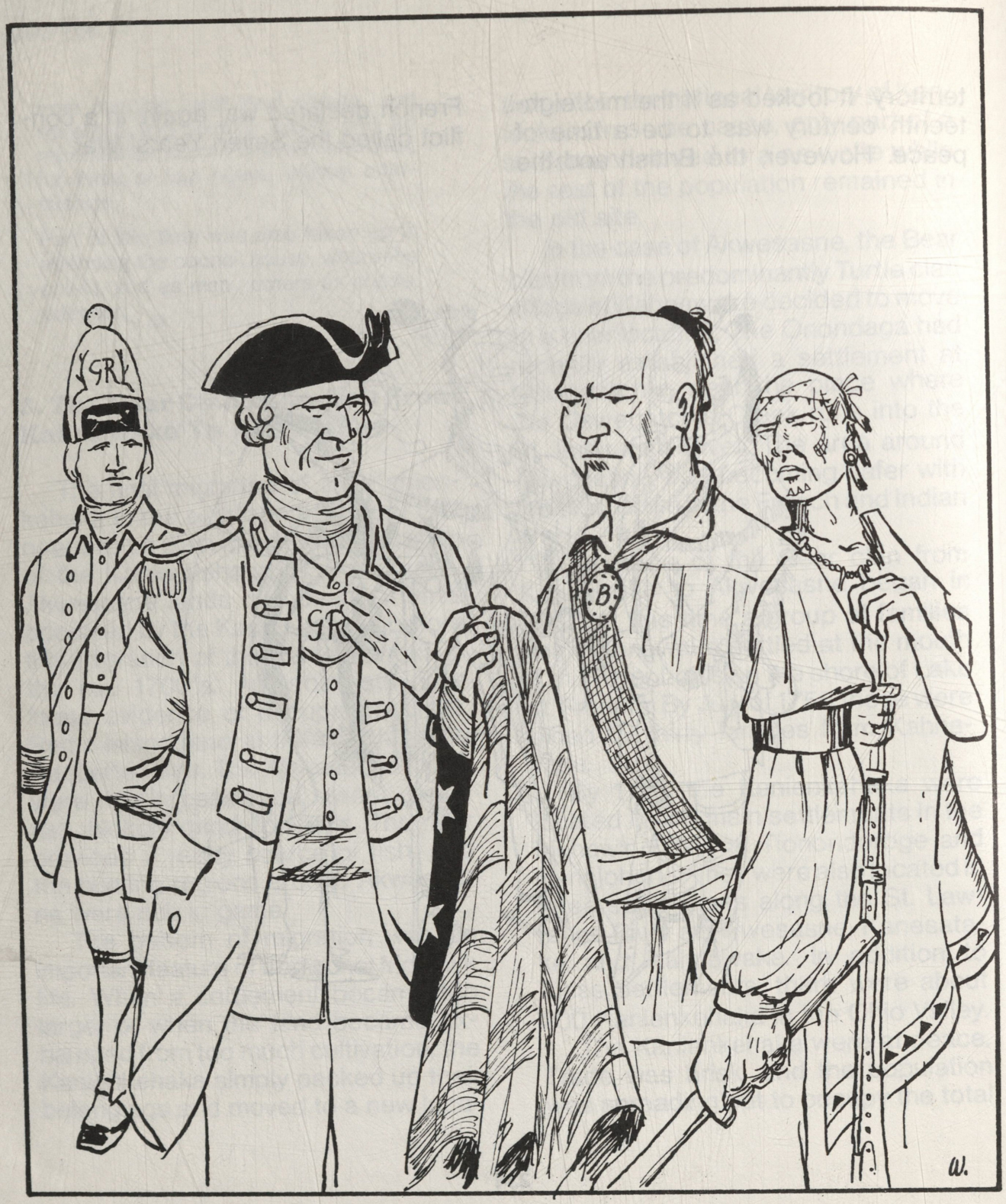
In the case of Akwesasne, the Bear clan from the predominantly Turtle clan village of Kahnawake decided to move to a new location. The Onondaga had recently established a settlement at Oswegatchie, near the place where the Oswegatchie Creek runs into the St. Lawrence River. The area around Akwesasne was becoming safer with the slow down in the French and Indian Wars.

The move of the Bear clan from Kahnawake to Akwesasne began in 1747. At this time a group of families from Kahnawake settled at the mouth of the River Louis on the shore of Lake St. Francis. By July of 1755 these were joined by thirty families from Kahnawake.

By 1755 the Kanienkehaka were located in two main settlements in the Mohawk Valley at Tiononderoge and Canajoharie. They were also located in three settlements along the St. Lawrence River at Akwesasne, Kanesatake and Kahnawake. In addition to these settlements, there were about 200 Kanienkehaka in the Ohio Valley.

The Kanienkehaka were at peace. Trade was brisk, and the population was spreading out to occupy the total

territory. It looked as if the mid eighteenth century was to be a time of peace. However, the British and the French declared war again, in a conflict called the Seven Years' War.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Chapter 15

The Kanienkehaka In The Seven Years' War

The Iroquois Confederacy was at peace with the French and the English after King George's War. Neutrality gave the Iroquois a bargaining position between these two European powers. The most important thing to the Iroquois was that their lands remained intact and that their sovereignty was respected and preserved. The Confederacy would do anything to guarantee this.

This chapter discusses:

1. The Land Frauds Against The Kanienkehaka
2. The Seven Years' War
3. The Results of the War

1. The Land Frauds Against The Kanienkehaka

Although the English pretended to be friends and allies of the Confederacy, the Grand Council had reason not to trust them. The English wanted Mohawk land and would stoop to anything to get it. This included treachery, theft and murder.

John Lydius Used Liquor To Steal Mohawk Land. One of the men used by the English to defraud the Kanienkehaka of their land was John Lydius. Lydius was born in Albany. He spent some of his early adult years in Massachusetts. The Massachusetts' police tried to arrest Lydius on one occasion and he fled to Kahnawake. He was thrown out of Kahnawake as a spy. He then settled at Saratoga. He worked there for the New England colonies as a land commissioner to defraud the Kanienkehaka of their lands.

Lydius' plan was a simple one. It had been used before and it was to be used again. He drew up deeds to Mohawk land, got some Mohawk men drunk and had them place their marks on the deed. These deeds were then turned over by Lydius to the New England colonies for sale to European farmers.

The Kanienkehaka had to do something about these frauds. In addition to this kind of trickery, the surveyors who measured the lands often lied about the amounts of acreage involved. The Mohawk Nation sent Hendrick to New York City to meet with Governor Clinton of New York. Hendrick told Clinton that the Kanienkehaka were being left naked and defenseless by the English. He

stated that the English did not care what became of the Mohawk Nation. He demanded that all land surveys be redone under Mohawk supervision.

Clinton did not like dealing with the Kanienkehaka. He told Hendrick that the Kanienkehaka should go to Albany and see the commissioner, Lydius. Hendrick replied to Clinton:

> The commissioner is not a person but a devil! As soon as we return to our homes we shall send up a belt of wampum to our brothers the Five Nations to tell them that the covenant chain is broken between you and us. So, brother, you are not to expect to hear of me any more, and brother, we desire to hear no more of you. [1]

Sir William Johnson Tried To Patch Things Up With The Six Nations. Hendrick's arrival had angered Clinton. After Hendrick's reply, Clinton was worried. Without the support of the Six Nations, the English did not stand a chance against the French. Clinton sent Sir William Johnson to Onondaga to patch up affairs with the Confederacy.

Johnson's speech to the Grand Council was as follows:

> Brethren of the Six Nations, it grieves me sorely to find that the road hither (from New York) has been so grown up with weeds for want of being used, and our fire almost expiring at Onondaga.
>
> ...I am now sent by your brother, the governor, to clear the road and make the fire with such wood as will never burn out. (Hendrick threw a belt; the audience responded, "Yo-hay!")
>
> Brethren of the Six Nations, I have now renewed the fire, swept clean all your rooms with a new white wing, and leave it hanging near the fireplace, that you may make use of it for cleaning all dust and dirt, which may have been brought by strangers (the French), no friend to you or us. (A string of wampum.)
>
> Brethren of the Six Nations, I am sorry to find on my arrival among you that the fine shady tree (of English protection) which was planted by our forefathers for your ease and shelter, should be now leaning, being almost blown down by northerly winds. I shall endeavor to set it upright, so that it may flourish as formerly. (A belt)
>
> Brethren of the Six Nations, your fire now burns clearly, at the old place, the tree of shelter and protection is set up and flourishes: I must now insist upon your quenching that fire made with brambles at Swegatchie (Father Picquet's mission)...Tis formidable news we hear that the French and some Indians are making a descent on the Ohio. Is it with your consent or leave that they proceed in this extraordinary manner? [2]

This speech by Johnson was not enough to satisfy the Grand Council. After discussing the matter for two days among themselves, the chiefs gave Johnson their answer:

> It is not without consent that the French have committed any hostilities at Ohio. We don't know what you Christians – English and French together – intend. We

Hendrick

> are so hemmed in by both that we have hardly a hunting place left. In a little while, if we find a bear in a tree, there will immediately appear an owner of the land to challenge the property, and hinder us from killing it, which is our livelihood. We are so perplexed between both that we hardly know what to say or think. (A belt) [3]

The Iroquois had invited some Frenchmen to sit with them during some of the discussions of the Grand Council. This disturbed the English. If the Six Nations sided with the French, English power and expansion into the Ohio Valley would be impaired.

These concerns did not stop Lydius and his crooked deals. While working for the colony of Connecticut, Lydius got some Iroquois people drunk, they signed away rights to land in what is now the Wyoming Valley. The Connecticut legislature wanted the Grand Council to approve Lydius' deed. The Council refused to do this. Lydius then set up a saloon in Albany and invited some Iroquois chiefs. When he managed to get them drunk, he had them sign deeds guaranteeing the Wyoming purchase. Here again, Hendrick went into action. He traveled to Pennsylvania and demanded that the shameful deeds be destroyed.

The Confederacy Advised The American Colonies To Join Together For Greater Strength. By 1754 the Kanienkehaka had grown impatient dealing with all of the various European colonies in North America separately. Hendrick remarked that it was impossible for the Confederacy to deal with Massachusetts on the one hand, New York on the other, as well as Pennsylvania, Virginia and all the rest. When an agreement was made with one colony, it was broken by another.

This concern was not new to the Iroquois people. In 1744 at the Treaty of Lancaster, the Seneca chief Canassatego warned the divided colonies that their survival was threatened by their lack of unity. He advised the people of the colonies to come together in an union such as the Confederacy. Such an union would be easier to deal with than the divided colonies.

The colonies took the advice of Canassatego and Hendrick seriously. The colonies met in June and July of 1754 at Albany. The Albany Congress drew up a plan for union based upon the same organizing principles as the Iroquois Confederacy. After the congress had met, Benjamin Franklin wrote to a friend:

> It would be a strange thing if Six Nations of ignorant natives should becapable of forming a scheme for such a union, and be able to execute it in such a manner as that it has subsisted for ages and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like union should be impractical for ten or a dozen English colonies. [4]

The English king did not want the colonies to unite. The Albany plan was turned down. The only lasting effect that it had is that the Iroquois were able to show their power to the English. This provided the English with a warning of the power of an united people.

2. The Seven Years' War

While the English were trying to organize themselves in Albany, and Lydius was defrauding the Kanienkehaka of their lands, the French were moving into the Ohio Valley. Both the French and the English wanted this valuable area for themselves. The nations of the Ohio Valley, however, were under the protection of the Iroquois Confederacy.

The English and French Fought In The Ohio Valley. The French began to build forts in the Ohio Valley and the English began to sell Ohio land to the people of Virginia. In 1750 the Parliament of England made a grant of 500,000 acres to a Virginia land company.

The Seven Years' War broke out in 1754. At the same time the English started to build a fort in the Ohio Valley. The French defeated and threw the English out of the area. George Washington was sent to reinforce the English. The French defeated Washington's force. In response, the English sent Major General Edward Braddock with an army of 1400 soldiers to the Ohio Valley. Their mission was to drive out the French from the area.

Braddock led his force directly into the Ohio. He advanced to attack Fort Dusquesne, the site of present day Pittsburgh. When Braddock and his army were only eight miles away from their objective, they were surprised by a combined force of French and native allies. Braddock was killed in the battle and the English were badly defeated. Although Johnson had asked the Kanienkehaka to side with Braddock in this campaign, they had politely refused.

The English knew that a great and final battle would take place in the near future. This battle would settle forever the struggle between the French and the English in North America. The English also knew that the strength of the Iroquois Confederacy would determine the outcome of the final war. Whoever could persuade the Confederacy to fight on the side of the English would gain incredible power and prestige from the King of England. The two chief competitors were Johnson and Lydius.

The Six Nations Stayed Neutral. In mid June of 1755, before Braddock's defeat, a conference was held in Kanienkeh. The Grand Council and 1104

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CANADIAN-NEW YORK FRONTIER

in the War with France

Iroquois observers met with Johnson to discuss the war. The English hoped that Johnson would gain the support of the Confederacy. While the council was going on, Lydius showed up. When Lydius appeared, an Oneida chief arose and addressed Johnson:

> Brother, you promised us that you would keep the fireplace clean from all filth and that no snake should come into this council room. That man sitting there is a devil and he stole our lands. He takes Indians slyly by the blanket, one at a time, and when they are drunk, puts some money in their hands and persuades them to sign deeds for our lands. [5]

Before the Confederacy decided which side it would support in the war, some Mohawk warriors fought with the French, and others fought with the British. In these cases, the Kanienkehaka would not fight against other Iroquois. There are recorded instances of unfortunate accidents in which a Kanienkehaka unknowingly fought against other Iroquois. These accidents were very rare.

The Mohawk historian John Norton wrote about a battlefield encounter between a Kahnawake Kanienkehaka and a Kanienkehaka from the Mohawk Valley. These two men met on the field of battle at Ticonderoga, in the Battle of Lake George. The French had sent a force under Baron Dieskau down the Lake Champlain Valley to attack the English around Albany. The Grand Council had not yet decided who they were to support in the war, so Mohawk warriors appeared on both the French and the English side:

> When Scouts brought information of the advance of the French and their Native Allies, – he detached Five Hundred of the Militia, and Three Hundred of the Mohawk; – the Latter formed the Front, – when they came to a Spring of Water, all of them ran down to drink, without any orders: at this place the French had ranged an ambuscade in the form of a Half Moon, – & the Mohawk had thus fallen into the Middle of it. In this Situation, they were surprised by a Caghnawague man rising up – and calling out in their language – "Of what Nation are you?..." They answered, "We are Mohawks and Five Nations – Of what People are you?" He replied, – "We are Caughnawagues & others – Stand aside, – for we only make War against the English, and do not desire to hurt any of our brothers – the Native Tribes." At this moment, one of the Party fired, –and the native Allies of the French immediately made an impetuous charge rushing down the hill, on which they had been ranged, they mixed in promiscuous fight with the Mohawks, who resisted with much valour, – but they were forced by superior numbers to a Retreat, which they effected. They were so intermixed with their Foes, that the straggling Fire kept up by the Militia was as injurious to them, as to the Enemy.

> In this confusion, a Mohawk Warrior happened to encounter his friend, a Caghnawague, – they saluted each other, and shook hands, – in the meantime another came up, – who making a Blow at the Mohawk, – the latter parried it and killed him, – a Second instantly rushed on, making a similar attempt, – he killed him also; – His Friend stood a passive Spectator of the Slaughter of his Comrades: – so strong was the Band of Friendship, that even when meeting in hostile array, – it obliged them to spare each other. The Caghnawague then exclaimed "Oh – my Friend, – we have met in disagreeable circumstances: – Let us then part." The Mohawk mixed in the Crowd, who could not distinguish him from their Friends, – until he found a convenient opportunity of rejoining his party. His escape was facilitated by the Mark of Distinction which the French had caused their Native Allies to wear; – it was a Narrow Strip of White Linen fastened to the Lock of Hair on the top of the Head, – this Man happened to have some thin plates of Silver hanging from the same part which were not distinguishable on slight Inspection. [6]

The English Gained The Upper Hand In The Fighting. The English defeated Dieskau's forces at Ticonderoga. After the defeat of Dieskau the English gained the upperhand in the fighting. By 1758 the English had forces in North America superior to the French. In 1758 the English captured the town of Louisbourg. In 1759 the English pursued further campaigns. Sir Jeffrey Amherst began his advance up the Lake Champlain Valley capturing Fort Carillon. Fort Carillon was renamed Fort Ticonderoga by the English. The English under General James Wolfe defeated the French at Quebec City. English forces under General Gage defeated the French at Fort Niagara in the west.

The French were caught in the jaws of the English army. Montreal was blocked by Wolfe at Quebec City, Gage at Niagara and Amherst in the Lake Champlain Valley. As commander in Chief of English forces, Amherst ordered the force at Niagara to sail down the St. Lawrence and attack Montreal. Escape by the French was impossible because of Wolfe's force at Quebec City and the English army occupying the Lake Champlain Valley.

The English army advancing from the west had three forts to pass before reaching Montreal. These were the forts at La Galette, Oswegatchie and Kahnawake. In addition to these forts, the English army had to pass over the Long Sault rapids east of Akwesasne and the Lachine Rapids.

The English wanted to attack La Gallette in full force. La Gallette was close to the Onondaga town of Oswegatchie. The Iroquois who were with the English opposed this idea because there were Onondaga with the French at La Galette. Iroquois people were free to associate with either the French or English because the Grand Council

The Surrender of Oswego

was still maintaining a policy of neutrality. The Iroquois point of view won and General Gage, in charge of the army in the west, decided not to attack La Gallette.

Three days after this decision was made an embassy arrived from Oswegatchie. The Onondaga had decided to support the English and attack the French. The exact words of the message were:

> In the most solemn manner they will not only quit the French, but on the approach of the English join them and show the English the best way to attack the enemy. [7]

With the support of these Onondaga, La Gallette no longer stood as a barrier. When the fighting season of 1759 closed, the English were closer to their objective of capturing Montreal.

The Confederacy Chose To Side With The English. In the Spring of 1760 the French commander, the Chevalier de Lévis, summoned the Kahnawake Kanienkehaka to a meeting at Laprairie. The French knew that they needed the support of the Iroquois. De Lévis reminded the Kanienkehaka of their years of friendship, and that many Kanienkehaka were Catholic like the

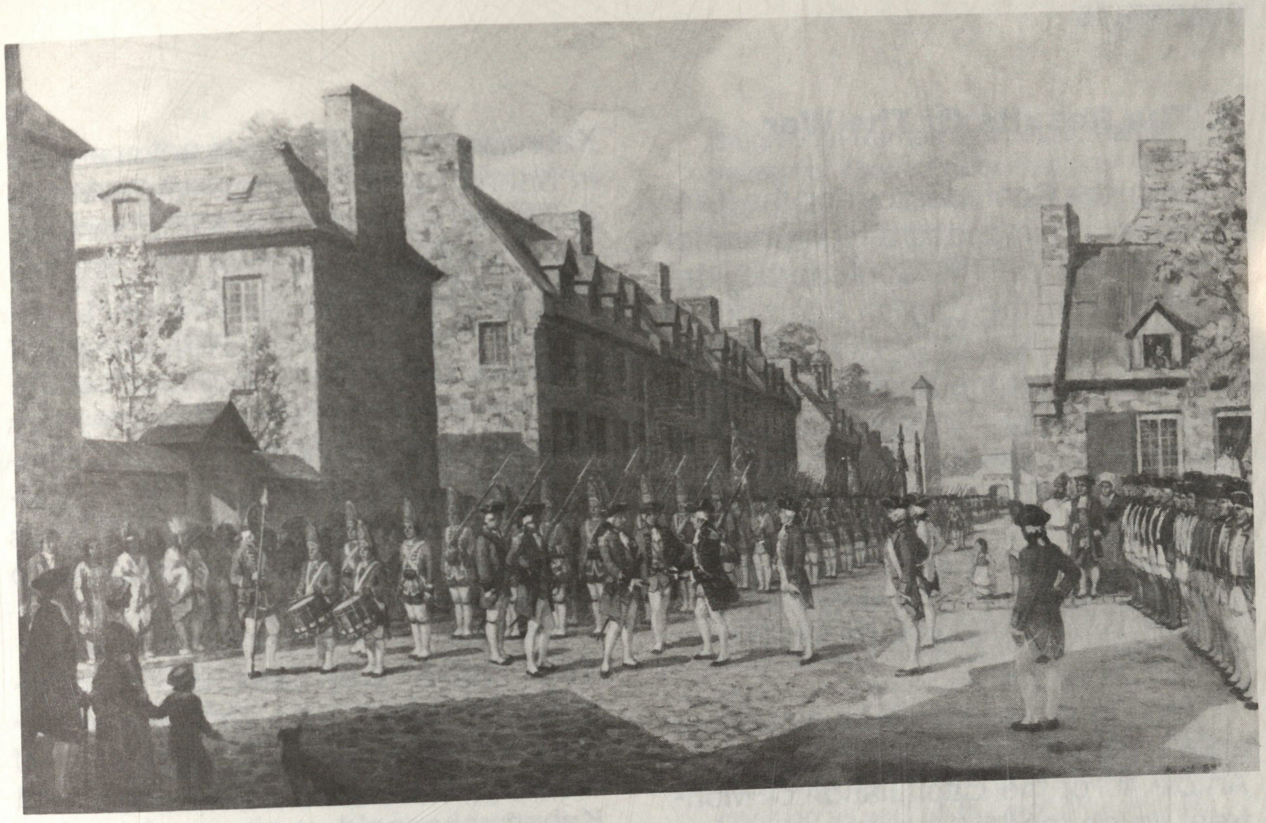
Mohawk paddlers bringing the British army over the Lachine Rapids to Montreal

French. De Lévis told the delegation from Kahnawake that the King of France demanded their support.

Just as de Lévis was in the midst of his address to the Kahnawake council, a delegation from the Grand Council arrived. It announced to the Kanienkehaka that the Confederacy had decided to side with the English. The French commander was totally amazed by the new position of the Kahnawake people. The Kahnawake people made their intentions known that they would respect the decision of the Grand Council.

Because the Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake respected the decision of the Grand Council and sided with the English, the French were forced to retreat into Montreal. The local French militia, volunteer French Canadian soldiers, abandoned the French cause when they learned of Kahnawake's decision.

The Kanienkehaka Of Kahnawake Transported The English Army Over The Lachine Rapids. The English army led by General Gage advanced towards Montreal from the west. The army was transported over



The British entry into Montreal

the rapids near Cornwall by paddlers from the Ottawa and Chippewa nations. These native paddlers had a rough time shooting the rapids. Many of the canoes tipped over and both men and baggage were lost. The Ottawa and Chippewa refused to continue on further. How were the English to transport their army over the Lachine Rapids?

The men of Kahnawake volunteered to do the job. Five hundred Kanienkehaka from Kahnawake led the way. They paddled their war canoes full of English soldiers over the Lachine Rapids and delivered the army to the gates of Montreal. According to Amherst, the native allies of the English did not hurt either a woman or a child. Not one house was burned. Sir William Johnson agreed and added that had the native nations not acted when they did on behalf of the English, the French would not have been defeated. In short, it was the Iroquois Confederacy led by the Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake who brought about the conquering of Montreal without bloodshed.

3. The Results Of The War

Both the Confederacy and the Kanienkehaka demanded a high price for their allegiance. The Confederacy demanded that the English keep out of the Ohio Valley. The Kanienkehaka demanded that the English recognize the sovereignty and independance of the Mohawk Nation:

> In return for this support, the British; would secure to....(the Indians) the quiet & peaceable Possession of the Lands we lived upon, and let us enjoy the free Exercise of the religion we were instructed in...[8]

After the surrender of Montreal, the above agreement was confirmed by Article 40 of the Capitulation of Montreal which reads:

> The Indians, allies of his Most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit; if they choose to remain there, they shall not be molested, on any pretense whatsoever, for having carried arms and served his Most Christian Majesty. They shall have...freedom of religion, and shall keep their Missionaries.[9]

Lord Amherst agreed to both of these conditions.

Amherst had presented himself as a friend of the Iroquois in the war with the French. The truth is he was as treacherous as either Denonville or Frontenac. Not wishing to honor his promise to the Kanienkehaka, Amherst sent a present of smallpox blankets to Kahnawake. The blankets never arrived in Kahnawake. The men who were to deliver the wagon load stole the blankets. They afterwards died of the disease that had been spread onto them.

In 1762 and 1763 two important events occurred that were to affect the history of the Kanienkehaka for years to come. The first was the Gage Concession. The second was the Proclamation of 1763 recognizing the lands of the Ohio Valley as belonging to native people.

The Gage Concession Recognized Mohawk Title To The Kahnawake Settlement. On the third of January 1762 the Jesuit priests at Kahnawake sold a piece of land to Pierre Lefebvre. The Jesuits believed that the lands of Kahnawake belonged to the Jesuit order, and that they could sell these lands in order to raise money. The Jesuits felt that the deed issued to them by King Louis XIV gave the Jesuits the right to own Kahnawake. The deed was made by the king of France as a legal convenience for the king, the Jesuits and the king's governor in Quebec.

The deed that the Jesuit gave to Lefebvre reads as follows:

> Was present the Very Reverend Father Well a Priest of the Society of Jesus in the name of and as Manager of the affairs of the Mission of the Reverend Jesuit

Fathers, Seigniors of Sault St. Louis, who in his said name has by these presents voluntarily granted and conceded under title of cens et Rentes Foncieres and Seigniorial, and not redeemable promising to warrant against all disturbances and impediments whatever, to Pierre Lefebvre, son of Louis Lefebvre farmer of Laprairie hereunto present and accepting for himself his heirs and legal representatives for all future time of a lot of land and concession lying and situated in the aforesaid place of Sault St. Louis, on the River St. Pierre being three arpents in width, by whatever depth there may be found therein commencing at the said River and extending as far as the half of the lands lying between the said River and a brook called Ruisseau Lapalme, bounded on one side by the lands of Louis Dupuis, and on the other by lands not yet granted, in front by the said River St. Pierre and in the rear by lands reserved for the tenants of the Ruisseau Lapalme, the whole as comprised and contained in the said lot of land without any reservations other than those hereinafter set forth.

The present concession was made with obligation on the part of the Accepter, his heirs and legal representatives to pay commencing on Saint Martin's day then next and thenceforth forever to the said Seigniors their Agents or legal representatives at their residence or at the aforesaid place called the Sault, each and every year three sols of Cens for all the said Concession, one for each arpent of land in superficies and one half bushel of wheat for every twenty arpents of land in superficies, the whole as ground and Seigniorial Rentes and not redeemable money of France notwithstanding any diminution of specie. The said Cens bearing the right of Lods et Ventes Saisine et Amande whenever the same become due with obligation cause the same to be inhabited according to regulations, to grant right of way to his neighbors, to permit the Concession which may be adjudged and deemed necessary for the public good, to cause all the grain which he may gather on the said Concession to be ground at the Seigniorial mill without his having the right to have the same ground elsewhere except upon paying the customary miller's fee. The said Seigniors reserving all the wood necessary for the construction such as the Manor-house, the Presbytery, the Church and the Seigniorial Mill, and which may be found on the said concession as well as the wood necessary for the repairing of the said construction of ships, with prohibition to sell, give or transfer the said Concession to any persons in mortmain unless such persons represent those who are capable of receiving (homme vivant et mourant). The said Seigniors reserving to themselves the right of redemption (Retrait féodal) in case of sale of either the whole or of portions of the said concession, by reimbursing the purchaser the price of his purchase as well as costs incurred and legal dues, the said Accepter being obliged to cause his land to be bounded immediately by a Surveyor, and to furnish a copy of the proces verbal of the same to the said Seigniors within a month, under penalty of the nullity of these presents: and the said accepter shall be bounded to furnish the said Seigniors with an exempli-

fication of these presents in Executory form. This done and passed at Montreal aforesaid in the study of Mtre Panet, one of the aforesaid Notaries, in the year One thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, on the third day of January in the afternoon, and the said R. F. has signed, and the said accepter has declared that he can neither write or sign, these presents having been duly read.[10]

The Kanienkehaka did not want the Jesuits to sell the land. Therefore they went to court and sued the Jesuits. The lawyer for the Kanienkehaka was Daniel Claus, the son-in-law of Sir William Johnson. The judge who heard the case was General Gage. Gage's decision was made on the 22nd of March, 1762. The following declaration was made by Gage respecting the ownership of Kahnawake land:

Before His Excellency Thomas Gage, Governor of Montreal, assisted by His Council, to wit, Messrs. Frederick Haldimand, Colonel of the 4th Battalion of the Royal American, and William Browning, Major of the 46th Regiment, Herbert Munster, Major of the 4th Battalion of the Royal American, and Gabriel Christie, Major and Quarter-Master of His Majesty's Armies.

Between the Iroquois Indians of Sault St. Louis, appearing by Mr. Claus, their Attorney, Plaintiff, on the one part:

And the Very Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus, appearing by the Reverend Father Wett, their Attorney, Defendant, on the other part. After that the said Plaintiff had laid before us a writing in the said name, which is in question, and conceived in these terms:

That at the surrender of this Country all things had been well arranged to maintain the said Indians in possession of their lands at Sault St. Louis, but that now the Jesuit Fathers, their missionaries, were granting continually to the French the lands forming part of the territory of Sault St. Louis, which, however, they believed belonged to them by a title of grant given them by His Most Christian Majesty. And that if matters are not promptly set right, they would soon see themselves obliged to give up their own fields to withdraw with their families to the woods, considering they do not any longer find there enough land to afford a means of living.

That besides they were formerly given a parchment which constituted their title, and that one of their Chiefs had always kept it till some time before his death. That he had placed in his wife's hands after having recommended her to always keep it carefully; but that one of the Jesuit Fathers had extorted it from her under a religious pretence against which she had been unable to defend herself.

That likewise they mean to have a title to all the buildings put up at the said Sault as well as to the Church and its furnishings, seeing that even three years previous to its having been commenced the Jesuits had informed them that they intended to build a Church and asked them if they wished to contribute towards it, which was done by giving each year a certain number of Beavers on their return

from hunting during the three consecutive years and in proportion to their hunts. That besides they always helped in erecting all the buildings by working at them either themselves or by lending the assistance of their wives, and that they contributed towards all the purchases since the said Church was built as much for the Shrine or altar as for the other furnishings for the same.

The said Reverend Father Wett said for his defence as follows, to wit: That the parchment is a mere story; that four or five French governors have successively admitted this, besides, if such a parchment had ever existed, the original thereof would be either at the Castle or at the Sovereign Council of Quebec.

That to satisfy the Indians it has been and would be searched for in vain, that it is probable that the English Administration will not be more successful in their search; that the same thing does not exist in regard to the titles of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers enregistered at the Sovereign Council of Quebec on the 24th of October 1680, that is, more than forty years before the mission was where it is now. The King's Letters Patent given at Fontainebleau on the 29th of May 1680, signed "Louis" and on the fold "by the King, Colbert" prove that. That the King would have contradicted himself if the story of the parchment was a reality, and not a tale which somebody took pleasure in inventing to quiet the Indians. That the land belongs to the Religious Fathers of the Society of Jesus, which is the gist of the question decided by the titles of which we have the originals. That it will be seen by the evidence of calumny charged against a Minister of the Lord who it is said without cause, acted against all divine and humane rights by carrying off the fictitious parchment. That undoubtedly the Indians will say that it is lost, which does not occur in regard to any other titles, the originals of which are to be found either at the Castle or at the Sovereign Council of Quebec. A practitioner would immediately infer therefrom that such titles are not real, but supposititious. Besides the said parchment should be found at least at the board of accounts at Paris. That if it be older than the titles of the Jesuit Fathers, therefore by that parchment the King revoked the donations which he made to them. Five generals would not have allowed them the possession during eighty two years, notwithstanding the complaints of the Indians, whom he had an interest in treating with consideration at this time.

That Mr. Perthius served as an interpreter more than once in the matter, and can give proof if the Jesuits have not always won their cause. The possession in which they have maintained themselves is a proof of it. The Decrees of the Jurisdiction of Montreal which authorized them to dispose of the same as Masters in full ownership and as they may think fit, is another proof of it. Lands which were joined to the estate is a third one. The establishment of a Parish at St. Peter's authorized by the powers and His Majesty himself is a fourth one. The titles of grants say expressly that the Inhabitants who will stay among the Indians shall not sell any liquor or put up any Public House. That supposes leave to

give building grounds to others than to the Indians.

That there only remains to prove the falsity of what the Indians allege when they say that they cannot go on their lands without being disturbed by the Inhabitants to whom they were sold. All their fields are on the Chateauguay side and are grounds belonging to the Jesuits.

That wishing to be as Fathers to the Indians they gave up all that land, that is to say, more than one league and a half by the whole depth, which is more than two league. That nobody dare name any inhabitant who holds titles from the Jesuits on that side. That in addition to that there is still a league and a half in width by the whole depth, going down towards the Mill, where there are but three inhabitants. That there are more than two leagues and a half in width of ungranted land by the whole depth where the Indians can make their fields. Why do they say now that they want land? On their own confession for more than forty years they have not cleared one fourth of a league, and yet they have not reached the depth. To favor them the Jesuits have made over to them one league and a half which is not revertible to His Majesty.

But, shall it be said, why have the Jesuits made grants? The defendants answer:

1. Because the King wanted land all cleared which would go back to him when the Missionaries would leave the Sault. It was therefore necessary to take the proper means by making grants to the inhabitants.

2. All the Seigniories are given by His Majesty only on the condition that grants be made, which is so true that some are withdrawn from certain individuals because they did not make grants.

3. His Majesty's intention in favoring the Jesuits was undoubtedly to give them something which he should have given had he not been able to make grants. The King meant to make the Jesuits undertake the house and the whole keeping of a spacious Church, of the necessary buildings for the Missionaries and their own sustenance. To accomplish that purpose, he gives them a Seigniory where with the help of the inhabitants the Missionaries may meet his views.

Let somebody after that treat the Jesuits like interested parties because they made the best of the sixth part at the utmost of the King's favors, and this to provide for themselves and for the keeping on the whole of a Church of the buildings and all that is necessary. They pass over in silence the maintenance of the sick of all the Villages for whom the Missionaries continue in providing free of cost sustenance and medicines, although they have not been receiving for some time the five hundred livres with which His Most Christian Majesty favored them to indemnify them. The Defendant answers besides to the questions which they were asked why their titles do not bear like all the others an absolute condition to make grants under pain of withdrawal. That His Most Christian Majesty being willing to favor them did not wish that they might be compelled in justice to make grants only as much as they would deem it advisable according to the circumstances of times and of places.

The said Father Defendant adds that there exists no longer any disadvantage in making grants, and so all the French Generals and Commissioners (Intendants) His Most Christian Majesty's Natural Interpreters thereto consented.

1. By the possession in which they have always maintained the Jesuits since then.

2. By the institution of the Parish of St. Peter in which the said Jesuits have no share.

3. By a number of decrees of union to their estate with leave to sell. Also, if notwithstanding a prescription of eighty-two years and the Judgments of so many French Governors and Commissionaries (Intendants) there still remained some doubts on the interpretation which should be given to His Most Christian Majesty's donation, the said Defendants offer to obtain from Himself an explanation which will do away with all doubts and that as soon as possible. The said Defendants asked accordingly that they be not till then in any wise troubled or disturbed in the possession of the lands in question.

Mr. Perthius after having taken his oath to tell the truth said that he had served twice as an interpreter before Messrs. the French Generals on the subject that Mr. de Vaudreuil had said besides that he was going to examine their propositions to see if the complaints were well founded and that he had, in consequence, written to the Militia Captains to beg of them to allow the Indians to cut off bark among their inhabitants considering the state of affairs that he could not go further and the Jesuit Fathers were allowed to remain in possession; which was all he said.

To wit:

We, having heard the parties with regard to that, considered attentively the grant of the lands of Sault St. Louis made by His late Most Christian Majesty Louis XIV, it seems to us to be the only title by which one can judge of the right to that establishment and decide the foregoing suit.

As regards the parchment of which the Indians say that they formerly were in possession, and of which they have been deprived, as it is said in their complaints, we are of opinion that if the parchment had existed it could contain but an extract or a full copy of the grants made in their favor.

We are of opinion that the grant of the lands of Sault St. Louis was made to the R. R. Jesuit Fathers with the sole intention of settling there Iroquois and other Indians and that all the soil could produce was whooly intended for their profit and advantage. The reasons which the R. R. Jesuit Fathers use in their petition, and which seemed to have determined His Most Christian Majesty to make this grant, were founded on the fear that the Iroquois who had settled at that time on the Seigniory of Laprairie and occupied lands which were too damp for the purpose of sowing should happen to leave, alleging that by means of that new grant, they would be not only kept back but that their number would be increased and that by that means the knowledge of Faith and of the Gospel would be spread.

In all the other concessions granted by His Most Christian Majesty or the Governors, the Seigniors who obtain them are obliged to settle inhabitants, and in absence of this they lose their Seigniories.

But in the concessions of the lands of Sault St. Louis instead of such conditions His said Majesty most expressly prohibits and forbids the French who would go among the said Iroquois or other Indian Nations who would settle on the said land called "Le Sault" from having and keeping any Cattle. This only condition contains an impossibility for the French to settle on the said lands and proves that His Most Christian Majesty reserved and intended them unreservedly for the use of the Indians and that no Frenchman could obtain thereon a grant.

We are also of opinion that the R. R. Jesuit Fathers cannot be considered like the Temporal Lords of the said lands. The remarkable difference which is found between the terms in which that concession is worded and those used in all the other concessions, is evident proof that "Le Sault" is not granted as a Seigniorial Fief. His Most Christian Majesty does not make therein mention of High, Mean, and Low Justice, of the right to fish and to hunt. He does not impose upon them any due or obligation to procure a living and moving person who shall do and bear fealty and homage to His Majesty in his Castle St. Louis of Quebec. The precautions seem to be unquestionable proof that the lands of "Le Sault" are not a Seigniory of which the R. R. Jesuit Fathers can call themselves the Seigniors; but that they are lands granted by His Most Christian Majesty solely to settle there Indians, who besides from their nature could not be subjected to the rights of lods et ventes, High, Mean or Low Justice. His Most Christian Majesty making the grant on the only condition that the said land called "Le Sault" shall belong to him toute défrichée when the said Iroquois would give it up, makes it known that his intention was not that the R. R. Jesuit Fathers would draw any advantage by the said grant, except perhaps the profit which accrued to them from the lands occupied till then by the Indians in the Seigniory of Laprairie. This constitutes another proof that gift was made solely for the said Indians. The term "all clear," of which mention is made could not be construed otherwise than that when the Indians should happen to leave that land, the whole of the said concession would go back to His Most Christian Majesty in the state of clearing where it could then be and that they could not claim anything for the work which they have done there. If His Majesty had meant that the R. R. Jesuit Fathers should clear that land he would have ordered them as usual to settle inhabitants there.

As regards the space of land of about one league and a half contained between the concession of Le Sault and that of Chateauguay, which the R. R. Jesuit Fathers claim as a gift which had been made to them as their own, independent of the conditions annexed to the concession of "Le Sault" and not revertible to the King, after having examined that second concession which was found among the records and was made at Quebec on the

30th of October, 1680, by the Count de Frontenac, the Governor General in Canada, we have found the following terms:

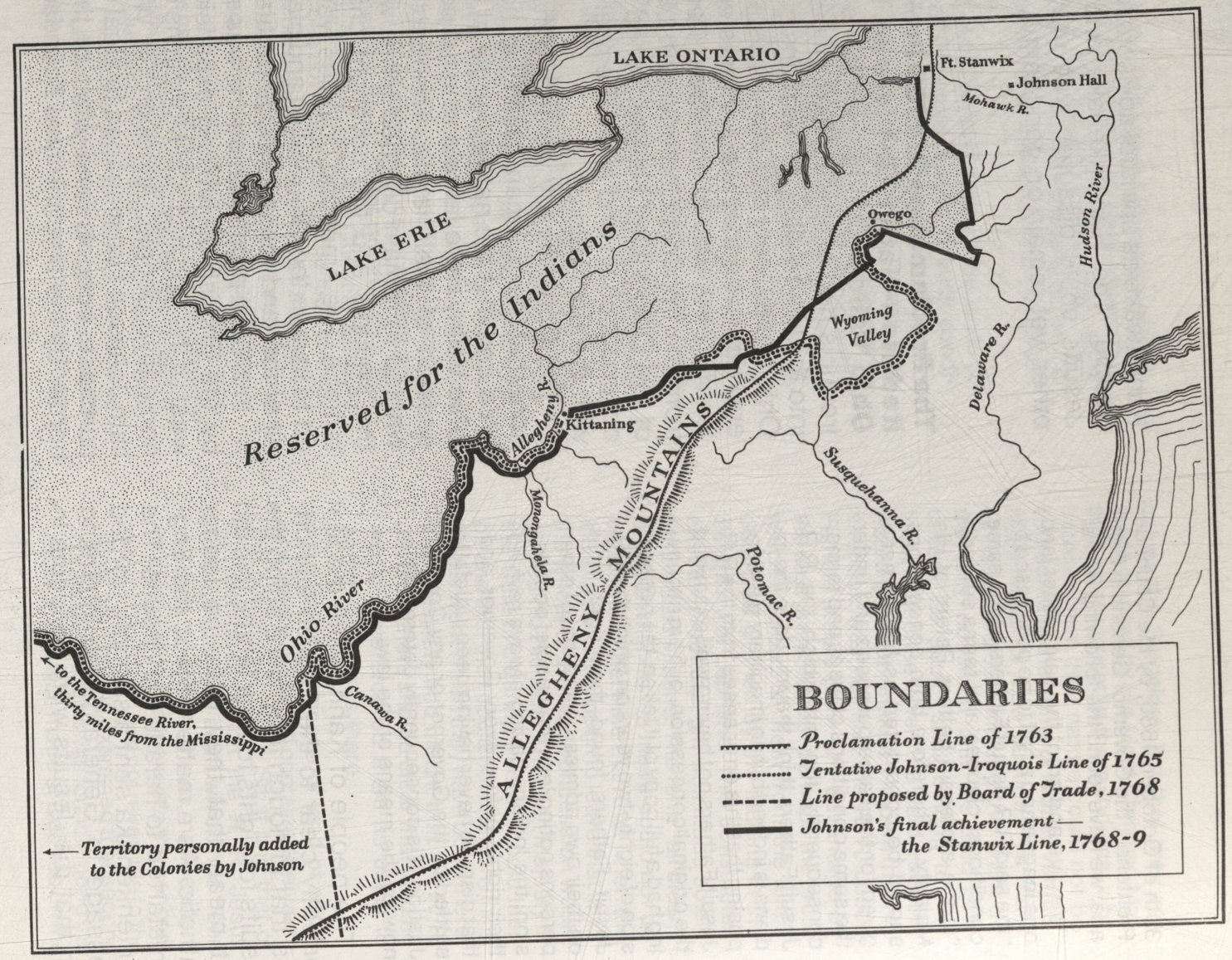
"We give and grant the said rest of land one league and a half to be possessed by "the said R.R. Jesuit Fathers on the same conditions, clauses and terms set forth "in the aforesaid Letters Patent of His Majesty." Therefore both concessions should be considered as having been given for the same purposes and under the same conditions clauses and terms; consequently the gift which the R.R. Jesuit Fathers think they made to the Indians is indeed but an imaginary gift. Supposing that this error arises from the R.R. Jesuit Fathers not having well examined the original concession, or from not having had a full copy of it taken, the possession of eighty-two years on which the R.R. Jesuit Fathers found their right, it is on their own admission and that of other persons noting less than a quiet possession, the Indians having always revived their rights before every Governor, and that dispute never having been judicially settled by the Governor or any Court of Justice, it is consequently determinable now by the means of the law. [11]

The people of Kahnawake made it perfectly clear to the English authorities that although they were suing the Jesuits for rights to their lands, this did not mean that they were no longer Catholic. As a matter of fact, the English started to harass the Jesuits. The Kanienkehaka sent a strongly worded message to General Gage informing him that the Jesuits were welcome in Kahnawake as spiritual advisors to the people. The Kanienkehaka and the Jesuits could disagree with one another, yet remain on good terms.

The Proclamation Of 1763 Prohibited Non-Native Settlers In The Ohio Valley. During the 1700's the Iroquois had extended their influence into the Ohio Valley. The nations of the Ohio Valley were not Iroquois speakers. However, they were interested in learning the way of the Great Peace from the Iroquois Confederacy. Many of the Ohio Valley Nations joined the covenant chain and allied themselves with the Six Nations.

The Confederacy wanted to make sure that the covenant chain was honored and that the native people of the Ohio Valley were left alone in full possession of their lands. The English wanted to remain on good terms with the Iroquois and the covenant chain nations. The American colonies wanted to invade the Ohio Valley and claim all of the land there for huge profits.

In 1763, a proclamation line was set by the English prohibiting expansion west of the Appalachian Mountains by non-native people. Although Sir William Johnson had managed to steal or purchase Iroquois land west of this border by the time the final boundary


LAKE ONTARIO
Ft. Stanwix
Johnson Hall
Mohawk R.
Hudson River
Owego
LAKE ERIE
Reserved for the Indians
Wyoming Valley
Delaware R.
Allegheny R.
Kittaning
Susquehanna R.
Monongahela R.
ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS
Potomac R.
Ohio River
Canawa R.
to the Tennessee River, thirty miles from the Mississippi
Territory personally added to the Colonies by Johnson
BOUNDARIES
Proclamation Line of 1763
Tentative Johnson-Iroquois Line of 1765
Line proposed by Board of Trade, 1768
Johnson's final achievement — the Stanwix Line, 1768-9

was set in 1768–1769, the Iroquois still retained most of their territory. A map drawn by Guy Johnson in 1771 confirms this fact. It shows the Kanienkehaka in possession of territory from the Adirondack Mountains to the St. Lawrence Valley.

W.

Chapter 16
The Kanienkehaka In The American War Of Independence

In 1768 the Confederacy made a treaty at Fort Stanwix with the British. This treaty guaranteed that Iroquois lands would not be invaded and that the sovereignty of the Confederacy would be respected. There were thirteen original English colonies in North America at this time. The non-native people living in these colonies were known as colonists. The colonists did not agree with the treaty at Fort Stanwix. They wanted to expand into Iroquois land.

This chapter looks at:

1. The Prelude To War
2. The American War of Independence
3. After the War

The Prelude To War. These thirteen colonies were always disunited. Canassatego, the Seneca Chief, had advised the colonists to form a union amongst themselves. He made this suggestion at the Treaty of Lancaster. The colonists tried to do this at the Albany Congress. However, the King of England did not want the colonies to become united. United they would have been able to stand up to England just as the Confederacy did. After 1768 the colonists began to unite for a war against England, their former mother-country. The colonists knew that they would benefit greatly if they had the support of the Confederacy.

In the fall of 1775, representatives of the united colonies met with the Confederacy to explain their coming war with England. At the beginning of their speech, the colonists referred to the words spoken by Canassatego at the Treaty of Lancaster some years before:

> Brothers,
> Our forefathers rejoiced to hear Canassatego speak these words. They sank deep into their hearts, the advice was good, it was kind. They said to one another, the Six Nations are a wise people. Let us hearken to their council and teach our children to follow it. Our old men have done so. They have frequently taken a single arrow and said, Children, see how easy it is broken. Then they have tied together with strong cords (several arrows)

> and our strongest man cannot break them – so said they – This is what the Six Nations means. Divided, a single man may destroy you – United you are a match for the whole world.
>
> We thank the good God that we are all united, that we have a strong Confederacy. [1]

The Confederacy Did Not Want To Join The White Man's Quarrel. The Iroquois response to this and other requests for help from both the colonists and the British were similar:

> White men are now fighting over the land they robbed us of; why take sides with them in their quarrels? When we red men went to war, no white men came to help us. They let our nations destroy each other, and when our lands were soaked with our blood they came and occupied them. Let the white men alone; let them destroy each other; when they are gone, the forests and mountains and lakes and rivers, which belonged to our forefathers, will return to us. [2]

The Mohawk chief, Little Abraham, spoke for the Confederacy when he said in clear language:

> the determination of the Six Nations is not to take any part; but as it is a family affair, to sit and see you fight it out. [3]

The Kanienkehaka demanded however, that all of the fighting be confined to non-native territory, and that no armies enter into Kanienkeh. The Kanienkehaka also insisted that roads passing through their territory be left open, and that British supporters such as Johnson, residing amongst the Kanienkehaka, be left undisturbed.

Even though the official policy of the Confederacy was one of neutrality, some individual Iroquois warriors fought on either the British or the American side as mercenaries. A mercenary is a man who sells his services as a fighter to a foreign government.

Soon after the 1775 conference smallpox broke out in the Mohawk Valley. Whole Mohawk communities were wiped out by the epidemic. Most who survived migrated to Akwesasne, Kahnawake, Kanesatake, or west to one of the other nations. Hardly any Kanienkehaka remained in the Mohawk Valley.

2. The American War Of Independence

In July of 1776 the American colonies declared themselves independent of England. War between the American colonies and England broke out. The Confederacy announced that the Six Nations would be neutral in the war. The Americans ignored the neutrality of the Six Nations. Although they claimed to be fighting for freedom and independence, some Americans attacked an old Mohawk chief. They killed him and dismembered his body. Shortly after, an American army marched

through Kanienkeh to attack the British at Oswego. This directly violated Iroquois neutrality.

The Six Nations wanted to remain neutral, despite these atrocities. The chiefs called a Grand Council to be held in early 1777 at Onondaga. In January of 1777 smallpox broke out at Onondaga. The Onondaga could not meet until they condoled three chiefs who died in the epidemic. The condolence ceremony took place after the midwinter festival.

The Grand Council was postponed until the early summer of 1777. At this sitting, the Grand Council decided to uphold its position of neutrality. However, a small group of Mohawk warriors who had been close friends of Sir William Johnson wanted to side with England against the colonies. Their spokesman was Joseph Brant.

Brant Encouraged the Six Nations To Fight For The British. A special meeting of the warrior society was held. The warriors from all the Six Nations discussed whether the decision of the Grand Council chiefs should be supported. No decision was made. Finally, Joseph Brant took the speaker's position. He called the rest of the warriors cowards and women. He urged all of the warriors to join with the British in the fight against the Americans.

Brant was eager to fight but failed to see that the best position for the Confederacy was neutrality. The English and the Americans had huge populations compared to the Kanienkehaka. The eastern door of the Confederacy could remain strong through diplomacy, not through war. However, many of the warriors listened to Brant. These joined with the British army of St. Leger in attacking the American colonies.

The American Armies Invaded Iroquois Territory. The Iroquois were able to successfully defend their territory until 1779. They had the Americans worried. In the summer of 1779 four major American invasions into Iroquois country took place.

The first invasion was a strike against the Onondaga. Three villages were burned. The Onondaga had been neutral in the war. They had not bothered the Americans and now they were betrayed. The Onondaga gathered together an army of three hundred and attacked the fort at Cobelskill, burning the settlement to the ground.

The second, third and fourth attacks against the Iroquois were made together. The officers commanding the American forces were General Clinton, Colonel Brodhead and General Sullivan. The first attacked were the Tuscarora. Here again the Iroquois people were betrayed. The Tuscarora

had actually helped the Americans at Valley Forge by supplying General Washington's starving army with beef and corn. The three armies combined under General Sullivan and marched through Iroquoia, destroying villages, burning fields, slaughtering herds of cattle and leaving the carcasses to rot in the fields.

A small Mohawk town remained in the Mohawk Valley. These Kanienkehaka had been at peace with their non-native neighbours. They had not fought on any side during the war. At the end of the summer of 1779 Sullivan's army turned to this town. The Mohawk people were forced to leave. Their homes, sheds and farms were given to non-native people.

In 1780, 1781 and 1782 the Kanienkehaka and the other nations of the Confederacy continued to attack the Americans who were invading their lands. Because of the destruction carried out by the American army, they did not have a strong home base to work from. The population of the northern settlements increased during these years. Those Iroquois living south of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie were without homes.

3. After the War

In 1784 England and the United States of America signed the Treaty of Paris ending the war between them. Although the treaty brought peace to the British and the Americans, the Iroquois were once again betrayed. The Confederacy had suffered at the hands of the Americans because of the British. When the final terms of peace were settled, the British forgot the Iroquois.

The Followers Of Brant And Deserontyon Settled In Canada. During the war, the Kanienkehaka and other Iroquois people who followed Brant settled on Seneca territory just south of Niagara. The Seneca offered these Iroquois land in the Genesse Valley. General Haldiman offered them a piece of land at the Bay of Quinte. The Iroquois with Brant did not want to take up Seneca land. However, they wanted to live closer to the Seneca than the Bay of Quinte. Haldimand made an offer of a tract of land 1,200 square miles along the Grand River. The Iroquois with Brant accepted. The land that Brant and his followers accepted was not in the territory of the Confederacy. The British had bought this land from the Mississauga in order to pay back Brant and his followers for their support.

Before the war, Brant and his Mohawk followers had lived in the village of Canajoharie on the Mohawk River. The other main settlement on the Mohawk River had been Tiononderoge.

Joseph Brant views the territory of Grand River

The Kanienkehaka of Tiononderoge did not follow Brant to the Grand River. After their homes were invaded by the Americans, they went with John Deserontyon to the northern parts of Kanienkeh. During the war some of these Kanienkehaka settled at Kahnawake while most settled at Lachine. After the war, in the year 1784, Deserontyon and his Mohawk followers moved to the Bay of Quinte. They arrived at the Bay of Quinte on May 22, 1784. The settlement is now called Tyendinaga or Deseronto. Like so many other Mohawk settlements, the Tyendinaga settlement had land stolen from it until it was reduced to the size of 17,000 acres.

The American Government Refused To Recognize The Confederacy. In 1784 a treaty conference was held at Fort Stanwix. the Six Nations went to the treaty conference to negotiate with the American government and determine the new boundaries of land. When the American commissioners arrived, they refused to recognize the existence of the Confederacy. The very same government which had praised the wisdom of the Confederacy now denied that the Confederacy even existed.

In order to get their own way at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Americans held the Iroquois at gunpoint. Hostages were taken from the Iroquois side of the council and imprisoned by the Americans. The treaty of Fort Stanwix was a fraud. It was typical of the kinds of dealings that the new United States of America was to have with native nations for the next two hundred years.

The Mohawk delegates told the American commissioners that they had no authority or interest in selling their land. Two years later the Grand Council joined with the Kanienkehaka in repudiating the treaty of Fort Stanwix. They told the Americans that the Six Nations were sovereign on their own soil and "equally free as you (Americans) or any other nation under the sun."

The Two Row Wampum Treaty had guided most of the relations between the Kanienkehaka and the French and English. The terms of this treaty stated that the Kanienkehaka would not interfere with the European and the European would not interfere with the Kanienkehaka. They followed a position of neutrality and continuously played one European nation against the other.

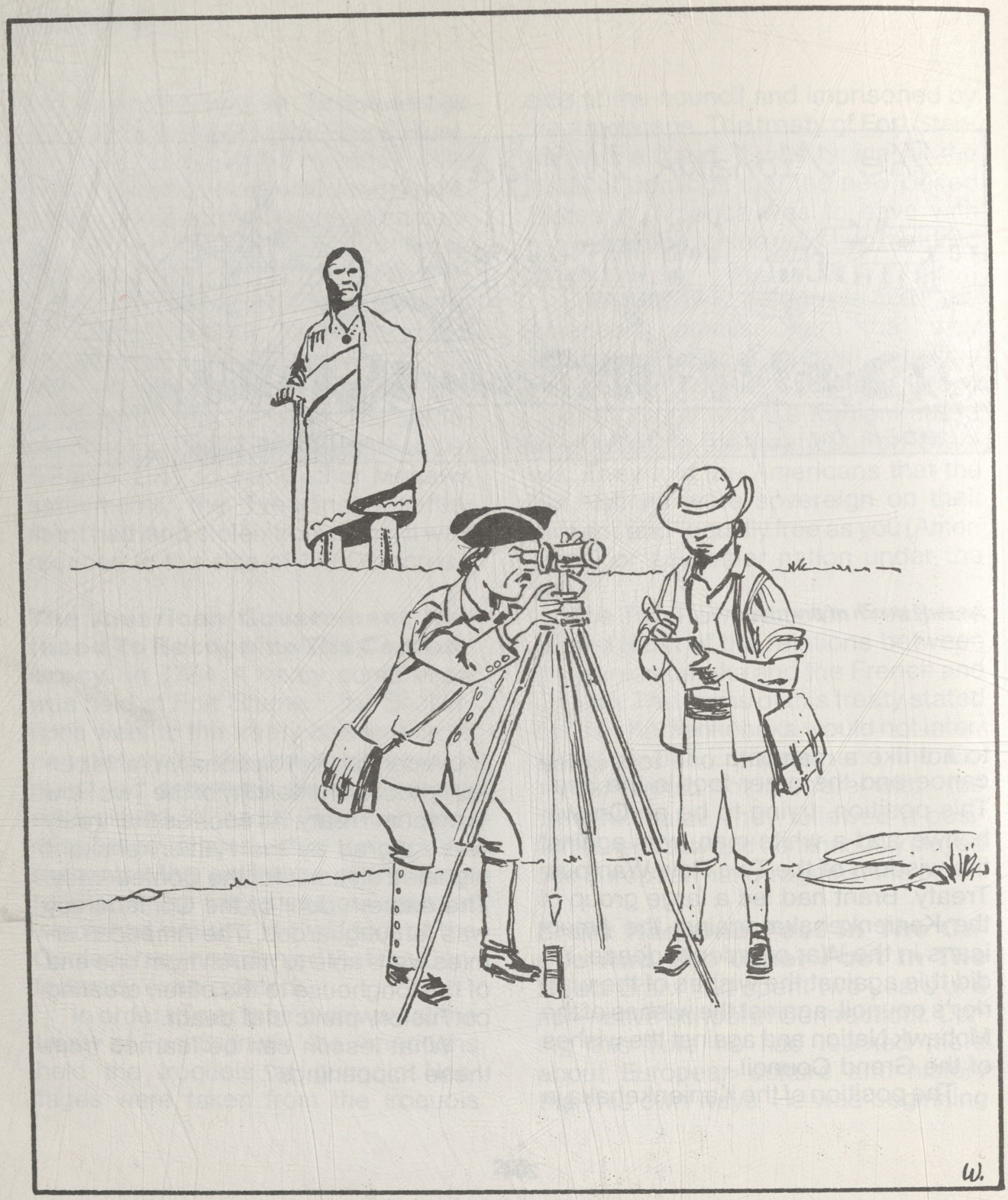
Brant Had One Foot In The Canoe And The Other Foot In The Boat. Brant had spent two years in a non-native school in Connecticut. During this time he had learned more about European culture and history than his own ways. He was beginning

An early sketch of Brantford

to act like a man with one foot in the canoe and the other foot in the boat. This position, trying to be an Onkwehonwe and a white man, was against the wisdom of the Two Row Wampum Treaty. Brant had led a large group of the Kanienkehaka against the Americans in the War of Independence. He did this against the wishes of the warrior's council, against the wishes of the Mohawk Nation and against the wishes of the Grand Council.

The position of the Kanienkehaka in the American Revolutionary War is perfect proof of the validity of the Two Row Wampum Treaty. As soon as that treaty was ignored by the Kanienkehaka it signaled disaster for the Confederacy. The eastern door of the Confederacy was left unguarded. The American armies were able to march from one end of the longhouse to the other, creating confusion, panic and death.

What lesson can be learned from these happenings?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Chapter 17
The Lands Of The Kanienkehaka

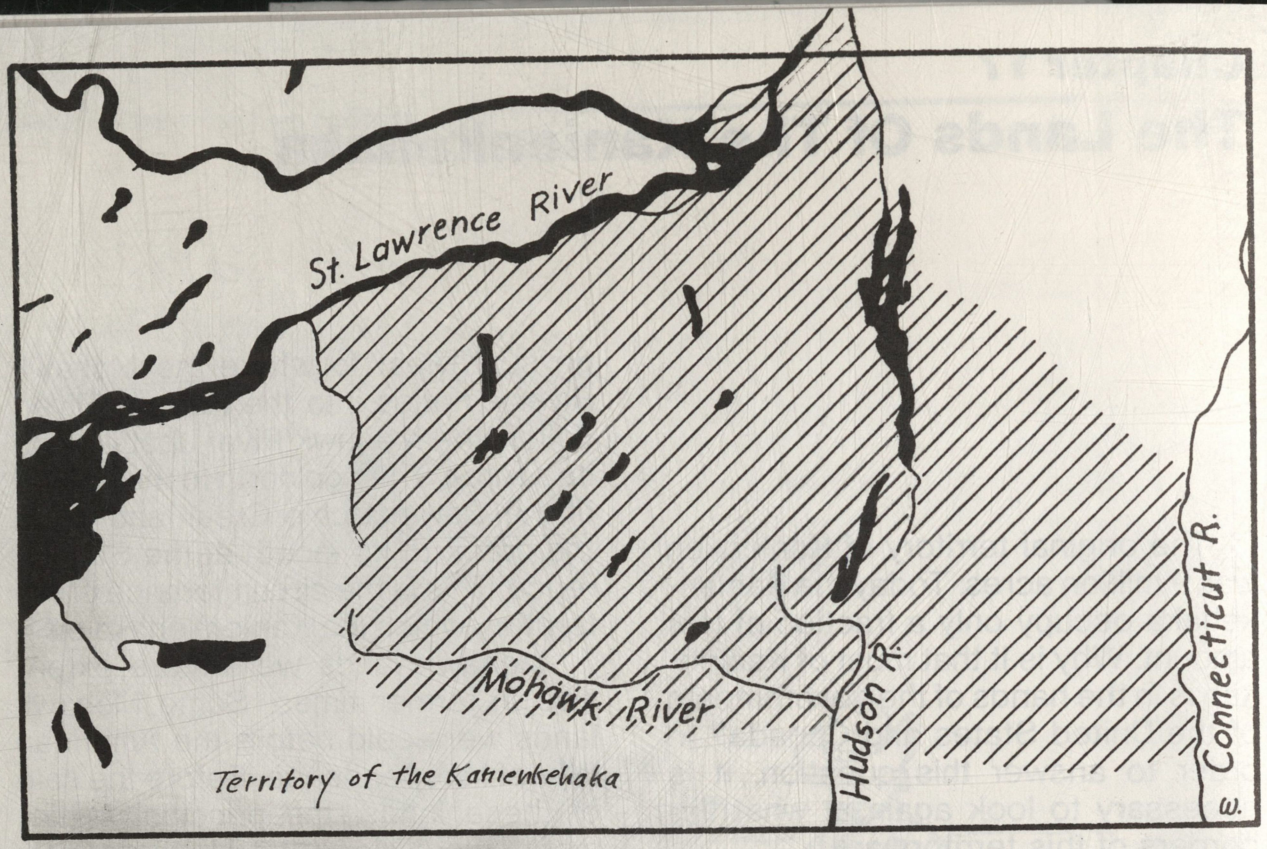
The original territory of Kanienkeh was 9 million acres. Today the Kanienkehaka occupy only a fraction of this amount. Why is it that most of Kanienkeh is in the hands of the governments of the United States and Canada? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to look again at what the borders of this territory are.

Even though the Kanienkehaka occupy a fraction of their territory. Kanienkeh covers a large area. One can get a feeling of the extent of the territory by following the map showing the present boundaries of Kanienkeh. Find the point where the Oswegatchie Creek runs into the St. Lawrence River. Follow the St. Lawrence River downstream to the Richelieu River turn upstream along the Richelieu River into Lake Champlain to the place where the White River begins. Follow the White River downstream to the Connecticut River. Go downstream along the Connecticut River to the site of present day Bellows Falls, Vermont. From here go southwest to where the Mohawk River empties into the Hudson River. Follow the Mohawk River upstream to its source. Then go north to the source of the Oswegatchie Creek and down the creek to its mouth at the St. Lawrence. This is the circumference of the territory which the Kanienkehaka own.

Mohawk lands were more extensive in former times. Some Mohawk lands were sold before the American War of Independence. Before the sale of these lands, the principal settlements were along the Mohawk River and the St. Lawrence River. Three settlements presently exist along the St. Lawrence River: Akwesasne, Kanesatake and Kahnawake. There is one settlement further south in Mohawk territory at the settlement of Ganienkeh. There are also Kanienkehaka living outside of the national territory in such places as: Brooklyn, Detroit, the Six Nations reserve, Tyendinaga, Gibson and scattered in other reserves and cities of North America.

This chapter looks at:

1. Maps showing the territory of the Kanienkehaka
2. Sales and Thefts of Mohawk Lands



1. Maps Showing The Territory Of The Kanienkehaka

Several important maps were drawn up in the past that show the true territory of the Confederacy. The United States government had access to these maps and knew that Kanienkeh included 9 million acres of land. It is important to take a look at these maps and see what meaning they have for the Kanienkehaka.

The Lewis Evans Map. Lewis Evans was a Pennsylvania map maker. In 1749 he made a map showing the colonies of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. This map also showed the territories of the Confederacy. In 1751 the English hired Evans to make a larger map. This new map appeared in 1755 and was labled "A General Map Of The Middle British Colonies In America".

Lewis Evans was an honest and accurate map maker. He correctly showed the territories of the French, the English colonies, the Confederacy and its allies. Governor Rober Morris of Pennsylvania was disturbed by Evans' second map because it showed all the land that the native people owned. Morris had Evans imprisoned on false charges. Evans died shortly after.

The governments of both England and France acknowledged the accu-

Duplicate of this in Hist. Vol. 10 (5) Am. Phil. Soc. 16 June 1815

5

Geographical, Historical,

Political, Philosophical and Mechanical

E S S A Y S.

THE FIRST, CONTAINING

presented by — Jos Parker Norris

AN

A N A L Y S I S

Of a GENERAL M A P of the

MIDDLE BRITISH COLONIES

I N

A M E R I C A;

And of the COUNTRY of the *Confederate Indians:*

A DESCRIPTION of the Face of the Country;

The BOUNDARIES of the CONFEDERATES;

AND THE

Maritime and Inland NAVIGATIONS of the ſeveral RIVERS and LAKES contained therein.

By *L E W I S E V A N S.*

P H I L A D E L P H I A:

Printed by B. FRANKLIN, and D. HALL. MDCCLV.

Title page of Evan's "Essays"

THE

PREFACE.

THE Map, that these Sheets accompany, and that they are intended to explain and supply, is presented to the Public, when a longer Time was indeed necessary to have given it the Degree of Correctness that was intended it. But the present Conjuncture of Affairs in America, and the generous Assistance of the Assembly of Pensilvania, have brought it to Light, when the Public will, it is hoped, receive Advantages from it, that will render an Apology for its premature Publication needless; and think it worthy the Encouragement of a BODY *who devote the Public Money to the Public Service.*

IT comprizes such an Extent, as is connected with that very valuable Country on the OHIO, which is now the Object of the British and French Policy, and the different Routes of both Nations thither. The Lake Ontario is equally open to both; to the one by the River St. Laurence; to the other by the Rivers Hudson, Mohocks and Seneca. But the French having, thirty Years ago, fixed themselves on the Streights of Niagara, by building Fortresses on Lands confessedly British, secured the Key on that Side to all the Country Westward. Those in Power see at last its Consequence, and are projecting the Recovery of it; and with great Judgment, for that Purpose, are establishing a naval Force on Lake Ontario, as very necessary in the Recovery and Securing of it. The Issue of this Enterprize will have great Influence on our Affairs, and of all Things it becomes the Colonies to push it on with Vigour. If they succeed here, the Remainder of the Work will be easy; and Nothing so, without it. The English have several Ways to Ohio; but far the best is by Potomack.

BY Reason of the little Acquaintance the Public has with these remoter Parts, where the Country is yet a Wilderness, and the Necessity of knowing the Ways of Travelling there, especially by Water: In the Map is pointed out the Nature of the *several* Streams; *as where rapid, gentle or obstructed with Falls, and consequently more or less fitted for Inland Navigation with Canoes, Boats or larger Vessels; and where the* Portages *are made at the Falls, or from one River, Creek or Lake to another. And for distinguishing the Extent of the Marine* Navigation, *the Places, that the* Tide *reaches, in the several Rivers, are pointed out. And in these Sheets, both the Marine and Inland Navigation are treated of at Length.*

AS

The PREFACE.

AS the Natures of the Soil and Streams depend upon the Elevation and Depreſſion of the Land; *I have particularly explained here the different Stages that it is divided into. It were to be wiſht, that we had like Accounts of all Countries; as ſuch would diſcover to us great Regularity, where an unattentive Obſerver would imagine there was Nothing but Confuſion; and at the ſame Time explain the Climates, the Healthineſs, the Produce and Conveniencies for Habitations, Commerce and Military Expeditions, to a judicious Reader in a few Pages, better than Volumes of Remarks on Places, drawn without theſe Diſtinctions.*

TO render this Map uſeful in Commerce, and the Aſcertaining the Boundaries of Lands, the Time of High-Water, *at the Full and Change of the Moon, and the* Variation of the Magnetical Needle *are laid down. But as theſe deſerve particular Explanations, I have, for want of Room, concluded to treat of them at large in a ſeparate Eſſay.*

ALONG the Weſtern Margin of the Map is drawn a Line repreſenting the greateſt Lengths of Days and Nights *(without Allowance for the Refraction) which will aſſiſt Travellers, in forming ſome Judgment of the Latitude of Places, by the Help of their Watches only.*

THOUGH many of theſe Articles are almoſt peculiar to the Author's Maps, they are of no leſs Importance than any Thing, that has yet had a Place amongſt Geographers. But Want of Room in the Plate, has obliged me to leave out, what would have very much aſſiſted my Explanation of the Face of the Country, I mean a Section of it in ſeveral Directions; *ſuch would have exhibited the Riſing and Falling of the Ground, and how elevated above the Surface of the Sea; what Parts are level, what rugged; where the Mountains riſe, and how far they ſpread. Nor is this all that a perpendicular Section might be made to repreſent; for, as on the upper Side, the Elevations, Depreſſions, outer Appearances and Names of Places may be laid down; on the lower, the Nature of the Soil, Subſtrata and particular Foſſils may be expreſt. It was with Regret I was obliged to omit it. But in ſome future Maps of ſeparate Colonies, I hope to be furniſhed with more Room.*

THE preſent, late, and antient Seats of the original Inhabitants *are expreſſed in the Map; and though it might be imagined that ſeveral Nations are omitted, which are mentioned by Authors, it may be remarked, that Authors, for Want of Knowledge in Indian Affairs, have taken every little Society for a ſeparate Nation; whereas they are not truly more in Number than I have laid down. I have been ſomething particular in theſe Sheets in repreſenting the Extent of the Country of the* Confederates *or* Five Nations; *becauſe, whatever is ſuch, is expreſly acceded to the Engliſh by Treaty with the French.*

Philadelphia,
Auguſt 9, 1755.

AN

racy of Evans' map. "A General Map Of The Middle British Colonies In America" correctly shows the expansion of the Six Nations into the Ohio Valley and the alliance of the Ohio Valley nations with the Confederacy. The Iroquois are shown to occupy the northern and southern shores of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River. The map calls the St. Lawrence River the "Grand River of the Iroquois".

The John Mitchell Map. In 1756, Dr. John Mitchell completed a map which showed the exact territory of the Six Nations. According to treaty agreements, this territory was left intact. Mitchell's map was well known by Benjamin Franklin. Writing to a friend of his, Franklin remarked:

> This map was made by our own Doctor Mitchell in order to ascertain for us the true boundaries of the Six Nations. [1]

The Amherst Collection. When Lord Jeffrey Amherst captured Montreal he took charge of a huge collection of maps from the French. These maps correctly showed the territories of the Six Nations. Nevertheless, Amherst ordered General James Murray to complete an additional survey and map the newly conquered territory and the territories of England's native neighbors.

The Lattre Map. After the American War of Independence, a French artist by the name of Jean Lattre completed a map of the United States of America with the boundaries determined by the Treaty of Paris. This map was called "Carte des Etats Unis de L'Amerique Suivant le Traité de Paix de 1783". The Lattre map was dedicated to Benjamin Franklin, the American ambassador to France. The Lattre map also shows the correct territories of the Six Nations.

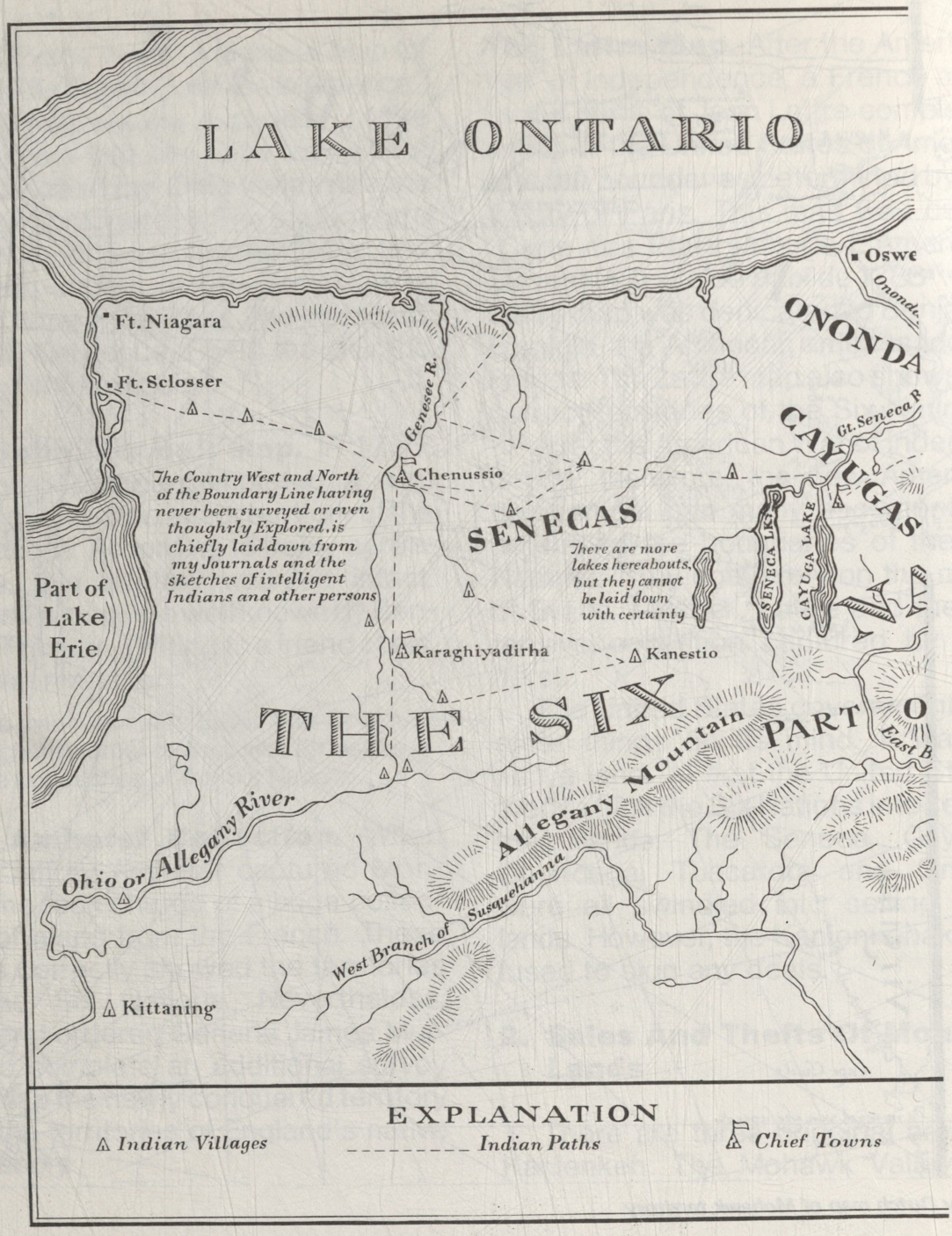
After the American War of Independence, therefore, the new American government had many documents to determine the boundaries of the Six Nations. They could rely on the maps of Evans, Mitchell, Lattre and the extensive collection captured by Amherst.

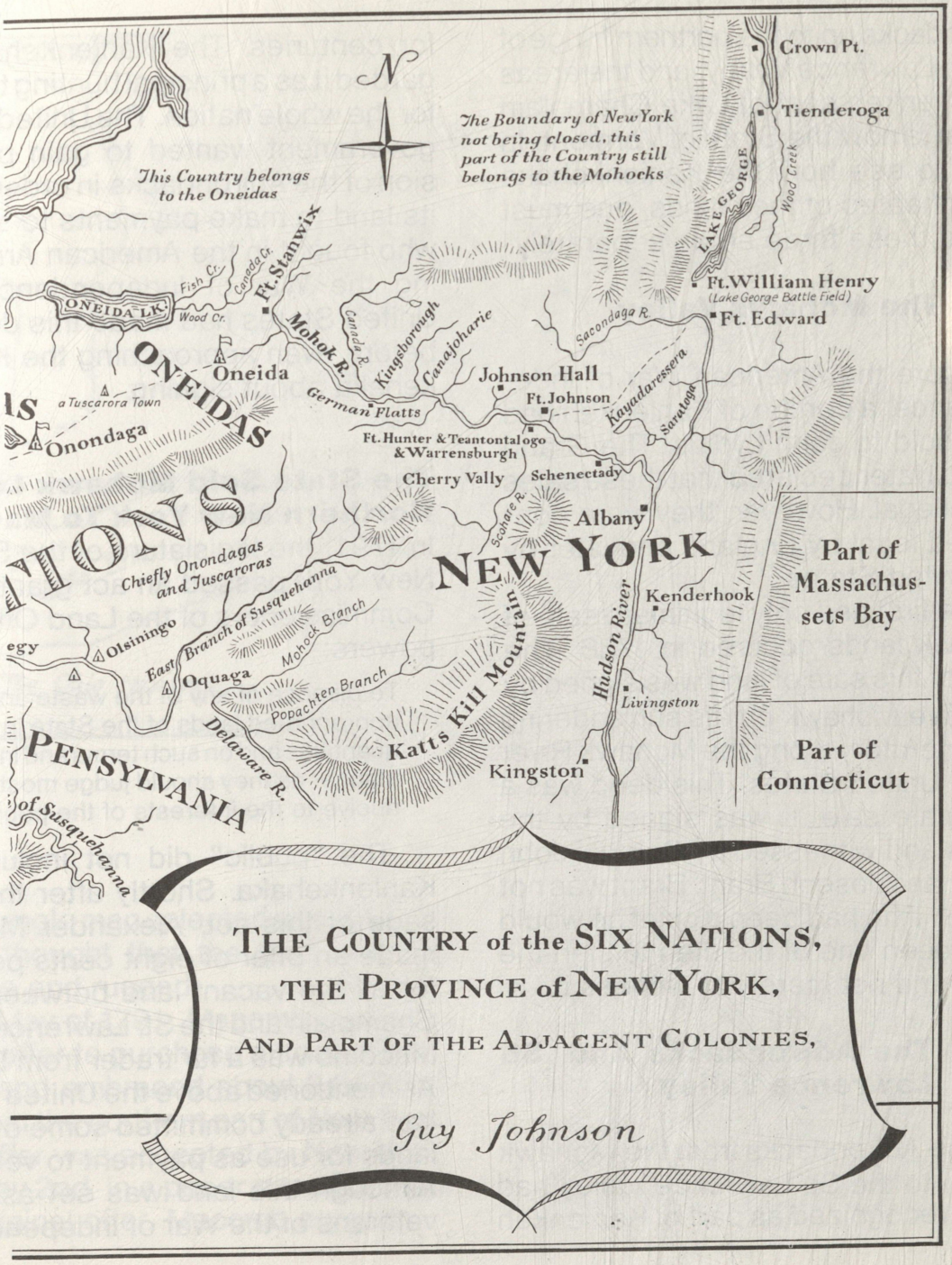
The United States government had other things on its mind. It wanted native land. At first the United States tried to trick the Six Nations into selling their lands. The Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Tuscarora and Oneida were all swindled into selling their lands. However, the Kanienkehaka refused to sign any deals.

2. Sales And Thefts Of Mohawk Lands

There are three principal areas in Kanienkeh: The Mohawk Valley, the

An early Dutch map of Mohawk territory


LAKE ONTARIO
Oswe
Ononda
ONONDA
Ft. Niagara
Ft. Sclosser
Genesee R.
Gt. Seneca R
CAYUGAS
Chenussio
The Country West and North of the Boundary Line having never been surveyed or even thoughrly Explored, is chiefly laid down from my Journals and the sketches of intelligent Indians and other persons
SENECAS
There are more lakes hereabouts, but they cannot be laid down with certainty
SENECA LK.
CAYUGA LAKE
Part of Lake Erie
Karaghiyadirha
Kanestio
THE SIX
PART O
East B
Allegany Mountain
Ohio or Allegany River
West Branch of Susquehanna
Kittaning
EXPLANATION
Indian Villages
Indian Paths
Chief Towns



THE COUNTRY of the SIX NATIONS,
THE PROVINCE of NEW YORK,
AND PART OF THE ADJACENT COLONIES,

Guy Johnson

Adirondacks up to the northern fringe of the St. Lawrence Valley, and the areas of Kanienkeh east of Lake Champlain in what is now the State of Vermont. In order to see how the Kanienkehaka were cheated of their lands, one must look at these three areas separately.

A. The Mohawk Valley

Before the American War of Independence, a portion of Kanienkeh had been sold to John Lydius. The Grand Council later declared that these sales were illegal. However, they were considered legal by England and later by the United States.

The first and only legitimate sale of Mohawk lands occured in 1788. The deed of this sale of land was signed by sixty five Mohawk chiefs surrendering some territory along the Mohawk River to the United States. This deed was a legitimate sale. It was signed by the chiefs and witnessed by Colonel John Butler and Joseph Brant. Brant was not a chief. If he had been a chief he would have been one of the men to sign the deed and not merely to witness it.

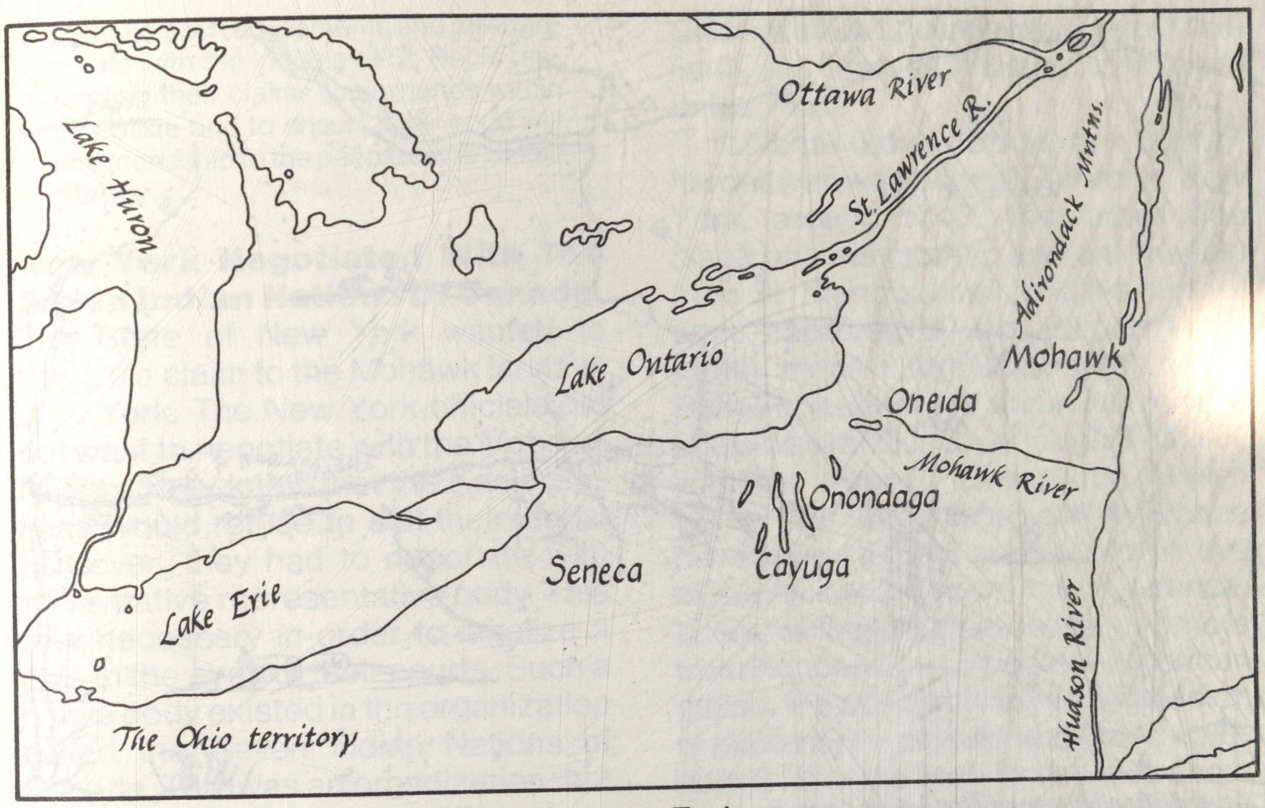
B. The Adirondacks And St. Lawrence Valley

The Adirondacks from the Mohawk Valley to the St. Lawrence Valley had been recognized as part of Kanienkeh for centuries. The Kanienkehaka regarded it as a principal hunting territory for the whole nation. The United States government wanted to gain possession of the Adirondacks in order to use its land to make payments to soldiers who fought in the American Army during the War of Independence. The United States had made this decision before even approaching the Kanienkehaka about signing.

The State Sold Mohawk Land In Northern New York To Macomb. In 1791, the legislature of the State of New York passed an act granting the Commissioners of the Land Office the powers:

> To dispose of any of the waste and unappropriated lands of the State in such quantities and on such terms and in such manner as they should judge most conducive to the interests of the public. [2]

The "public" did not include the Kanienkehaka. Shortly after the passage of this act, Alexander Macomb made an offer of eight cents per acre for all the vacant land between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River. Macomb was a fur trader from Detroit. As mentioned above the United States had already committed some of these lands for use as payment to veterans. Although this land was set aside for veterans of the War of Independence,

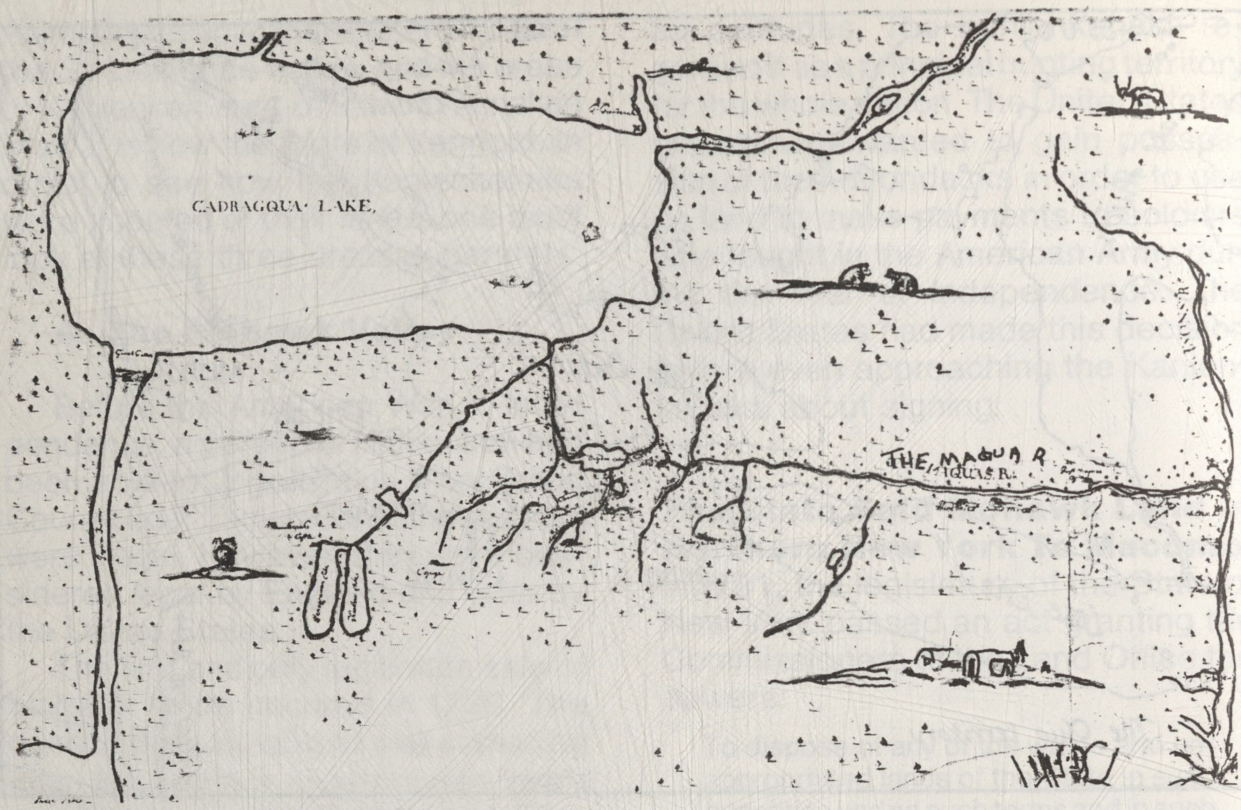


The Iroquois Territory

not a single man selected an allotment. They thought that the land was too remote and rugged.

In May of 1791, Macomb made another offer to purchase a tract of land. This land embraced about 3,840,000 acres in the northern part of New York. The offer was accepted by New York. On May 2nd, in a paper separate from his original offer, Macomb agreed:

That the islands called Caleton's or Buck's islands, in the entrance of Lake Ontario, and the isle Au Long Sault, in the river St. Lawrence, and a tract equal to six miles square, in the vicinity of the village of St. Regis, be excepted out of the above contract, and to remain the property of the State: Provided always, that if the said tract shall not be hereafter applied for the use of the Indians of said village, that then the same shall be considered as included in this contract. 3



An early English map of Mohawk territory.

According to the State of New York, the Akwesasne Kanienkehaka were now living on reservation lands. But a six square mile tract of land was not considered to be an equitable settlement by the people of Akwesasne. In 1792, they sent a combined Akwesasne-Kahnawake delegation to Albany to assert the Mohawk claim to the lands in northern New York. The State of New York knew that the Kanienkehaka were right in demanding that their lands be restored to them. However, the State of New York also wanted to keep all of New York for non-native people, with the exception of small reserve lands around Akwesasne.

On March 5, 1795, the State of New York passed an act making it lawful for the Governor or his agents:

to make such agreements and arrangements with the Indians of St. Regis respecting their claims to any lands within this State and to ensure their good will and friendship to the people of the United States. 4

New York Negotiated With The Seven Indian Nations Of Canada. The State of New York wanted to finalize a claim to the Mohawk lands of New York. The New York officials did not want to negotiate with the Mohawk Nation. They knew that the Kanienkehaka would refuse to sell their lands. However, they had to negotiate with some native representative body. This was necessary in order to legalize a sale in the eyes of their courts. Such a native body existed in the organization called the Seven Indian Nations of Canada. This was an organization that had representatives from different native communities in eastern Canada meeting on a regular basis to discuss matters that were of a common concern. The Seven Indian Nations of Canada never had any authorization from the Confederacy to represent the Six Nations.

In May of 1796, representatives from the Seven Indian Nations of Canada met with agents for the State of New York to negotiate a treaty concerning title to the Mohawk lands in New York. Included in the representatives of the Seven Indian Nations of Canada were Louis Cook, Eleazar Williams and Thomas Williams. Who were these men?

Colonel Louis Cook or Atiatonharonkwen was born at Saratoga, New York, around 1740. His father was black and his mother was an Abenaki from St. Francis. Louis and his mother were captured by the French in an attack made upon Saratoga in 1755. Both were taken to Kahnawake where Louis was raised. Louis fought faithfully with the French during the Seven Years' War. After the fall of New France he returned to Kahnawake. On the eve of the American War of Independence, Louis, acting independently of others from Kahnawake, joined the American cause. He was awarded a commission of lieutenant – colonel and was invaluable to the American forces as a scout and messenger. After the war, he went to Oneida where he remained until about 1789 at which time he moved to Akwesasne.

Cook was not born a Kanienkehaka. He lived amongst the Kanienkehkaka but, according to most, he did not follow Mohawk law or custom.

Eleazar Williams was also not born a Kanienkehaka. He was adopted into a Kahnawake family and lived there for only part of his life. A good portion of his life was spent among the Oneida as a Protestant missionary. He spent a great deal of time trying to convince

people that he was of French nobility. Many people thought that he was the son of King Louis XVI. What right therefore did he have to sign away Mohawk lands?

Thomas Williams was the descendent of Eunice Williams from Deerfield. Because of his descent from a non-native woman, he did not have a clan. He was therefore neither a war chief or a condoled peace chief. Like Cook and Eleazar Williams, Thomas had no authority to sell Mohawk lands. All three of these men were traitors to the Kanienkehaka.

The Seven Indian Nations Of Canada Signed Away Mohawk Land. On May 31, 1796, a treaty was signed between the Seven Indian Nations of Canada and the United States. In this treaty the Kanienkehaka ceded and released to the State of New York all lands except for the six square miles reserved for them by Macomb, a square mile on the Salmon River, a square mile on the Grass River where mills had been built, and the meadows on both sides of the Grass River. The Kanienkehaka received payment of £1,230, 6s., 8d., plus an annuity of £213, 6s., 8d. In New York currency this was equal to a payment of approximately $3200 and an annuity of $535. The Kanienkehaka of Akwesasne were to share this annuity with the people of Kahnawake.

The State of New York set up a system of three trustees at Akwesasne to receive this money annually. This was the beginning of tribal council governments at Akwesasne. The Kahnawake Kanienkehaka never saw a penny of the sale money. It was sent to the Sulpician priests in Montreal instead.

Brant Signed Away Mohawk Land. When the followers of Brant went to their reserve at what is now called Six Nations, they abandoned the national territory. With this move, they kept their Mohawk citizenship, but surrendered all rights to the land they no longer occupied. These rights remained only with the Kanienkehaka who still lived in Kanienkeh.

In 1798, the United States government approached Brant and asked him to sell the Mohawk land in New York. This was the same land that the United States had supposedly bought from the Seven Indian Nations of Canada. Brant agreed to sell for $500. Brant claimed that he had the authority to do this from the Grand Council. The surrender begins as follows:

> I Captain Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, Sachem and chief warrior of the Five nations... [5]

This fraudulent sale was only the beginning for Brant. He was soon selling off Mohawk lands in the Six Na-

tions reserve, as well as New York. Brant had no authority to sell the lands of New York. The 1798 treaty with Brant is illegal. Brant knew this. He acted as an individual without the knowledge or the authority of the people. As Major Gordon Smith of Brantford later proved:

> The historical, documentary, and local evidence leads but to one conclusion, and that is that Captain Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, was not of the royal line, and was not a Chief, not a Royaner. The name Thayendanegea was his private given name, and is not the name of any hereditary sachem.
>
> That he was not an assistant chief or messenger is equally conclusive, as he was not of the royal line.
>
> That he was not an official war chief is established by the fact that he was of Mohawk and not of Seneca descent.
>
> That he was not a Pine Tree Chief is not so clearly established as the other contentions; but in view of the fact that he has nowhere been designated a Pine Tree Chief, that he never officially executed any Six Nations documents, and that he was not given the title of Chief on the monuments is evidence sufficient to deprive him of his title.
>
> That he was a chief by courtesy– a leader of leaders, a great warrior, a great Indian – no one will deny. There are to-day many leading Indians on the Six Nations Reserve who are called chiefs by white men and by the press because they think that being prominent Indians they must be chiefs; but the Indian never makes that mistake, nor will he ever give that great title to any one who is not entitled to it. *6*

The Kanienhehaka Have Legal Claims To Lands In The Adirondacks. The Mohawk lands in the Adirondacks and on the western shore of Lake Champlain are still legal lands of the Kanienkehaka. The United States government stole these lands through two fraudulent treaties, the 1796 Seven Indian Nations of Canada Treaty and the 1798 treaty with Joseph Brant.

An additional danger created by the Seven Indian Nations Treaty is that it allowed a foreign government, to gain a foothold in Akwesasne. This was the trusteeship which came under the authority of the State of New York and the United States. This government was to administer the annuity money only. At a later date, the trustees for the State of New York would undermine the authority of the Kanienkehaka in Akwesasne. This created divisions that are still continuing to hurt the Kanienkehaka.

C. Land East Of Lake Champlain

The Kanienkehaka have claim to lands on the eastern shores of Lake Champlain in what is now the State of Vermont. Vermont was not originally a British colony. New Hampshire and

New York both claimed possession of lands in Vermont which legally belonged to the Kanienkehaka and the Abenaki.

Evidence of Mohawk habitation of the Lake Champlain Valley can be proven by the names of various places noted on maps and in travel journals. Here are some examples taken from the work of Dr. Floyd Loundsbury, a Yale University linguist:

Lake Champlain

On Govenor Pownall's map (approx. 1755) this lake is given the following description: Lake Champlain, called by the Indians Canieadare'-quaront, the Lake that is the Gate to the Country.

On Lord Amherst's map (1762) it carries the legend: Lake Champlain, to which the Dutch formerly gave the name of Corlaer, is called by the Indians Caniaderi-Guarunte, signifying The Mouth or Door of the Country.

Lake George

On Governor Pownall's map (approx. 1755) this lake is designated Lake St. Sacrament, now Lake George, in Indian Caniaderochte' or Tail of the Lake.

On Lord Amherst's map (1762) it is described: Lake George, which is called by the French Lac du St. Sacrament, is named by the Indians Caniad-eri-oit, that is, Tail of the Lake.

Beauchamp writes:

Andiatarocté was first recorded as a local name by Father Jogues in 1646: "They arrived the eve of S. Sacrement at the end of the lake which is joined to the great lake of Champlain. The Iroquois call it Andiaterocté, as one might say, there where the lake is shut in. The Father named it the Lake of S. Sacrement." O'Callaghan rendered it the place where the lake contracts, which would be descriptive of Lake Champlain south of Ticonderoga, but not of Lake George, to which Jogues distinctly applied it. There are variants of this to be noticed.

South River and South Bay of Lake Champlain and the Drowned Lands or Grand Marais

South Bay (near the present city of Whitehall) and the Drowned Lands (west of the South River or lower extremity of Lake Champlain) are entered on Governor Pownall's map (approx. 1755) and are explained as follows: South Bay and Drowned Lands, in Indian Tieronderaquégon, signifying a Collection or Conflux of Waters.

On Lord Amerst's map (1762) the west shore of the South River is marked Drowned Lands, with the Legend: These Drowned Lands are called by the Indians Ond-eri-gue-gon or the Conflux of Waters.

Beauchamp quotes only the latter form:

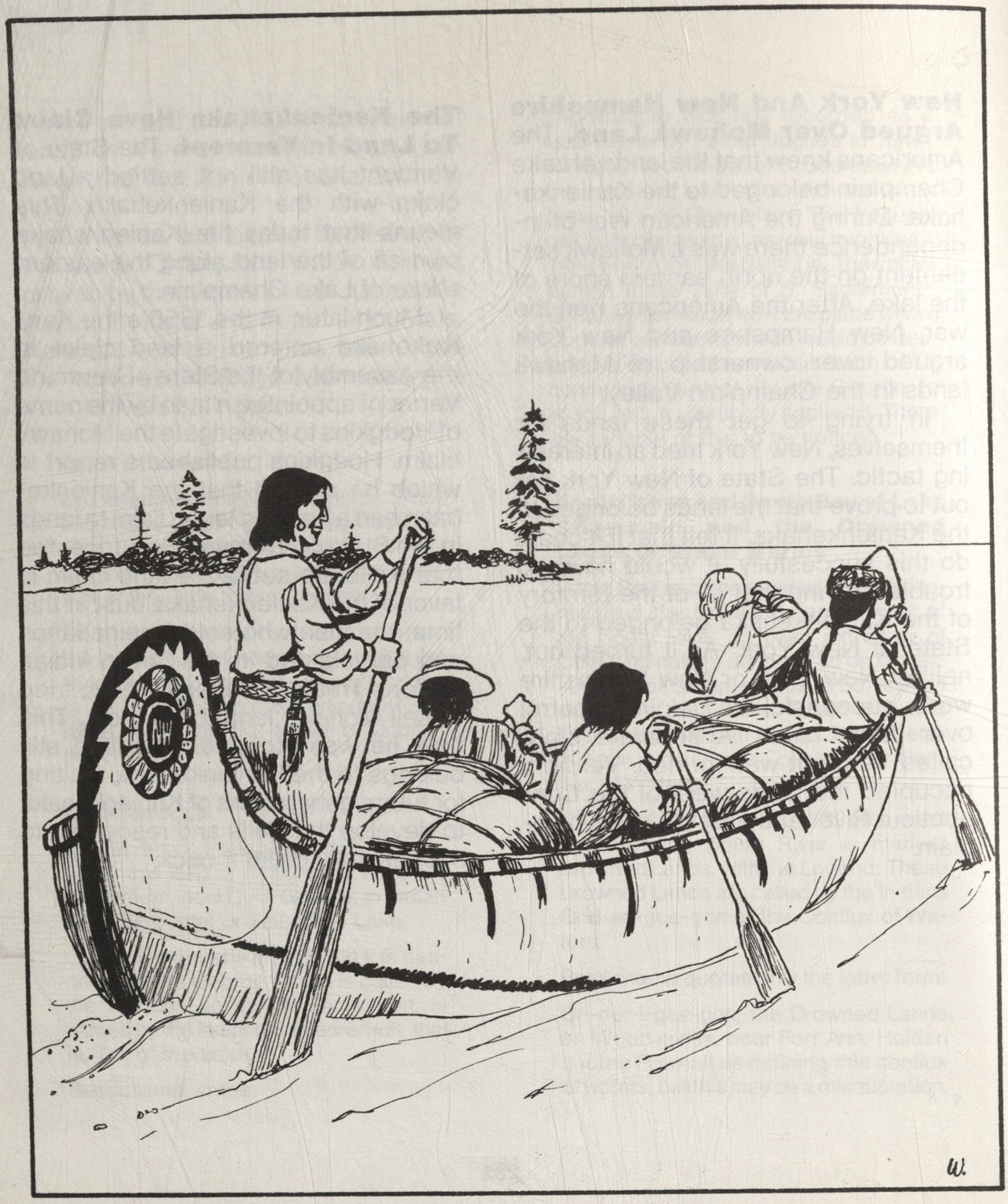
On-der-i-gue-gon, the Drowned Lands on Wood creek, near Fort Ann. Holden quotes Pownall as defining this conflux of waters, but this may be a misquotation.[7]

New York And New Hampshire Argued Over Mohawk Land. The Americans knew that the lands of Lake Champlain belonged to the Kanienkehaka. During the American War of Independence there was a Mohawk settlement on the north eastern shore of the lake. After the Americans won the war, New Hampshire and New York argued over ownership of Mohawk lands in the Champlain Valley.

In trying to get these lands for themselves, New York tried an interesting tactic. The State of New York set out to prove that the lands belonged to the Kanienkehaka. It felt that if it could do this succesfully, it would have no trouble proving that all of the territory of the Kanienkehaka belonged to the State of New York. As it turned out, neither New York or New Hampshire were successful in gaining control over these lands. A separate state called Vermont was formed. Vermont occupied the lands west of the Connecticut River and east of Lake Champlain.

The Kanienkehaka Have Claim To Land In Vermont. The State of Vermont has still not settled a land claim with the Kanienkehaka. This means that today the Kanienkehaka own all of the land along the eastern shore of Lake Champlain.

Much later, in the 1850's the Kanienkehaka entered a land claim in the Assembly of the State of Vermont. Vermont appointed a man by the name of Hodgkins to investigate the Mohawk claim. Hodgkins published a report in which he argued that the Kanienkehaka had a just and legal claim to lands in the State of Vermont. He suggested that the state settle the land claim in favor of the Kanienkehaka. Just at this time, the man who sold Oneida lands and participated in the Seven Indian Nations Treaty, Eleazar Willams, tried to sell Mohawk land to Vermont. This time he was stopped. The land still belongs to the Kanienkehaka, waiting for future generations of Kanienkehaka to develop the skills and resources to successfully claim it back.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Chapter 18
The Mohawk Voyageurs

Years ago, the Kanienkehaka used to speak of a kind of power that human beings possess called orenda. Orenda was the kind of force that makes men different from women, boys and girls different from adults, and young adults different from old people. Witches were believed to possess a very powerful orenda.

One important thing about orenda was that men and women were supposed to have very different kinds of power, and so had different kinds of responsibilities.

For example, women were responsible for the home, all property, for the raising of children and for important decision making. It was the women who raised up the chiefs, or when the chiefs did not do their jobs properly, removed them from office. Women stayed close to home. They provided stability and security to the Mohawk home.

Men, on the other hand, spent a great deal of time away from the home. Their occupations included hunting, trapping, defense of the territory and diplomatic missions to foreign nations. The women made most of the important decisions, but it was the men who served as spokesmen for the people.

By the end of the eighteenth century, after the defeat of the British in the American War of Independence, and the Seven Indian Nations Treaty, Mohawk men had to look outside of their national territory for work. One important occupation for the Kanienkehaka during times of peace was the fur trade. By 1799 most of the furs in the vicinity of the northern Kanienkehaka had been already taken. If the Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake, Kanesatake and Akwesasne wished to remain in the fur trade, they would have to head further west. This was where the beaver still thrived.

The fur trade in North America involved millions of dollars each year. After the defeat of the French, the British controlled most of the trade in Canada. The two major competing companies were the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. In addition, an American Company was formed by Jacob Astor. Astor's head-

quarters were in New York City. His traders left from points west of the Mississippi and journied into the Canadian northwest through a southern route. The Hudson's Bay Company had its principal trading centers and embarkation points at Hudson's Bay and James Bay. The Northwest Company was situated in Montreal with its embarkation point at Lachine, across from the village of Kahnawake.

This chapter tells about:

1. The Mohawk Voyageurs
2. The Mohawk Communities Out West
3. A Change In Mohawk Economy

1. The Mohawk Voyageurs

The first Kanienkehaka left for the west in 1794. This first group of three were employed as trappers and voyageurs by the Northwest Company. Trappers were the men who actually went out and caught the beaver, prepared the skins and sold them to the company. The voyageurs were the men who carried these furs from the remote western parts of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and delivered them to Lachine. The Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake, Akwesasne and Kanesatake were skilled at both trapping and canoeing. Therefore, the Northwest Company liked to hire Mohawk employees.

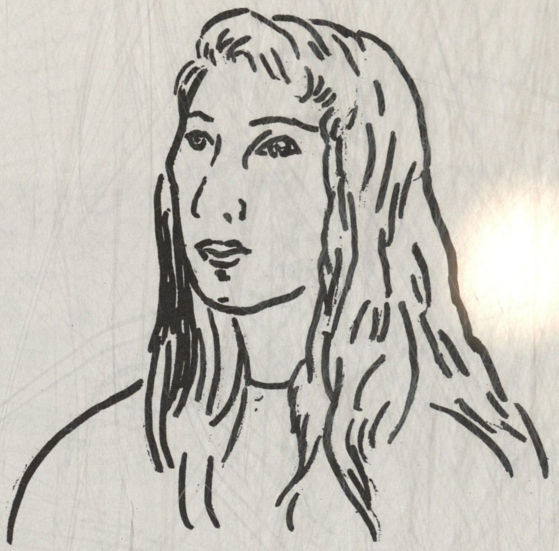
The Kanienkehaka First Had Trouble Adjusting To The West. Usually a Mohawk voyageur signed up with the Northwest Company for a period of three years. Part of his wages were paid to him in the west and part were paid to his wife and family back home. By the year 1798 the Kanienkehaka had been as far west as Fort Augustus. Fort Augustus is near present day Edmonton, Alberta. Their presence at Fort Augustus was remarked on by David Thompson, a geographer who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company. As shown by Thompson's description, he did not like the Kanienkehaka, who worked for the rival Northwest Company:

> The Iroquois consider themselves superior to all other people, especially the white people of Canada. They are accustomed to showing themselves off in dances... and making speeches on every occasion... The few women they brought with them were anything but beautiful. Their dress was careless with the skirt on the outside and petticoats to only a little below the knees, the toes and feet turned inwards which made them walk like ducks.[1]

Hunting in the western prairies and in the Rocky Mountains was considerably different from the hunting in Kanienkeh. At first the Kanienkehaka had a difficult time adjusting to the new dangers that western hunting involved. For example, when a group of Kanien-

kehaka went out hunting buffalo, they were attacked by a charging bull. Several days later another Kanienkehaka was mauled by a Rocky Mountain grizzly bear:

> When advised to be cautious in the hunting of the Bison, especially when wounded; they would laugh and say they killed an ox with the stroke of an axe, and should do the same to the Bisons. The second day in hunting one of them wounded a Bull which ran at him, and although he avoided the full stroke of the head, yet was so much hurt that it was about two months before he was well. The next day as two of them was crossing a low point of wood near the river, they saw a Bull, fired at and wounded him, the Bull rushed on one of them who to escape ran behind an old rotten stump of a tree of about ten feet high, the furious animal came dash against it, threw it down and the man lay beneath it, the Bull also fell on it, and rolled off; The comrade of the poor fellow ran to the river and hailed the canoes; several of the men came, the Bison was dying, they took the stump away, but the Iroquois was crushed and dead. These two accidents somewhat lowered their pride as they found that their guns could not always protect them.
>
> A few days after, as two of them were hunting (they always went by two) they met a colored Bear, which one of them wounded, the Bear sprung on him, and standing on his hind feet seized the Iroquois hugging him with his fore legs and paws, which broke the bones of both arms above the elbow, and with its teeth tore the skin of the head from the crown to the forehead, for the poor fellow had drawn his knife to defend himself, but could not use it; fortunately his comrade was near, and putting his gun close to the Bear shot him dead. The poor fellow was a sad figure, none of us were surgeons, but we did the best we could, but for want of proper bandaging his arms were three months in getting well. [2]



A sketch of a Mohawk Voyageur in Alberta

The Kanienkehaka Soon Mastered The Skills Of Western Living. At first when these accidents happened, the Kanienkehaka thought that it was because some of the western natives had thrown bad medicine on them. Gradually, however, the Kanienkehaka learned the methods of

A Mohawk Voyageur

hunting the larger Rocky Mountain animals, and soon excelled even the best western native hunters.

It was customary to sign up with the Northwest Company for three years. After that time, the Kanienkehaka would either return home to their families, or else stay on in the west as "freemen". A freeman was a hunter not employed by the Northwest Company or the Hudson's Bay Company. As a freeman, a Mohawk hunter could catch his beaver and sell the furs to the company outposts or else, take them back to Montreal. Most Mohawk freemen sold their furs to the company outposts at a higher profit than they would have made working directly for the company.

The Mohawk spirit of independence prospered with the Mohawk voyageurs. They worked for whoever they wished, owing allegiance to only their fellow Kanienkehaka. A group of Catholic Mohawk freemen in the west were described by a priest, Father Lacombe. According to Father Lacombe, after three years of service with the NorthwestCompanytheKanienkehaka:

> ...bought a large outfit of ammunition, traps, knives, axes, blankets, etc., and left Edmonton to go and hunt for themselves in the direction of the Rocky Mountains, at the head of the Athabasca River, where was established afterwards Jasper House, facing Mount Millet.
>
> These Iroquois were living together like brothers, sharing their good and bad luck. Being Catholics, they determined, though far from church and priest, not to neglect their religous duties... Not having been married in their own country the young Iroquois took the Indian maidens (from the Sekani and Shuswap tribes) for their wives ...[3]

As the Kanienkehaka spent more and more time amongst the western nations they began to adopt some of the western cultural traits. For example, they adopted the calumet dance of the plains nations. They learned it so well that later in a dance contest with some Cree people the Kanienkehaka won the competition with the calumet dance. The Kanienkehaka preserved their religious beliefs in the west. Tra-

Native fur-camp on the outskirts of nineteenth century Montreal

ditionalists stayed traditional, and Catholics stayed Catholic. One group of western Kanienkehaka, traveled over 1500 miles to visit a priest at the St. Joseph mission in Missouri.

One Catholic Kanienkehaka from Kahnawake was Louis Kwarakwante. He was born at Kahnawake on October 17, 1782. His parents were Kwarakwante and Tekonwakwehni. Louis was called Karehiio, "Fine Forest". He left for the west in 1799 when he was seventeen years old. He was accompanied by two Mohawk friends, Ignace Kwarakwant and Ignace Wanyante.

What adventures must have awaited these three young men as they left their homes for the long paddle west? They were born at a difficult time for the Kanienkehaka. Their lands were being stolen. Their language and culture was under attack. And the means of making a living had been drastically changed. It must have been some slight sense of hesitation, as well as fear, that the three Mohawk voyageurs experienced when they pushed off from the Lachine wharf in the direction west.

The famous Catholic missionary Father De Smet records a meeting with Louis in the year 1846:

> On the banks of Lake Jasper, we met an old Iroquois called Louis Kwaragkwanté, or Walking Sun, accompanied by his family, thirty-six in number. He has been forty years absent from his country, dur-

> ing which he has never seen a priest – has dwelt for the last thirty-four years in the forests of the Athabasca and Peace Rivers and subsisted on hunting and fishing ...The little Iroquois camp immediately set out to follow me to Fort Jasper. Most of them know their prayers in Iroquois. I remain fifteen days at the fort, instructing them in the duties of religion – after Mass on Easter Sunday, all were regenerated in the waters of baptism, and seven marriages renewed and blessed.[4]

Many of the Mohawk voyageurs continued to work for the Northwest Company, returning home for visits with their families every two or three years. These voyageurs were the backbone of the Northwest Company, and it was they who led most of the company's exploring missions west of the Rocky Mountains.

In 1821 the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company joined together in one company. Most of the Kanienkehaka who had worked for the Northwest Company now went to work for the Hudson's Bay Company as trappers and voyageurs. Some, however, went to work for the American Fur Company of Jacob Astor. From 1821 until when the boundary line between the United States and Canada was set in the west, the competition between Astor's Company and the Hudson's Bay Company was intense.

Here again, the Kanienkehaka found themselves caught between two warring factions. Both the Americans and the Hudson's Bay Company wanted the support of the Kanienkehaka.

Why was this so? In order to answer this question, we should go to the letters and journals of the men who tried so hard to hire Mohawk voyageurs.

The Hudson's Bay Company Was Anxious to Hire Mohawk Men. One of the most significant men in the Hudson's Bay Company at the time of the merger with the Northwest Company was George Simpson. Just before the merger was made final, Simpson wrote to Ignace Giasson, a Hudson's Bay agent and told him that it was:

> necessary to re-engage the Iroquois and hunters on the most advantageous terms without delay.[5]

The following year, however, Simpson was having difficulty hiring the Kanienkehaka. He wrote to Duncan Finlayson, another Hudson's Bay agent:

> The Iroquois must be engaged without delay, I shall not limit you to terms, we absolutely need their services and you will therefore make the best bargain you can.[6]

Simpson's reasons for wanting to hire Mohawk voyageurs are evident in the letters of Colin Robertson, writing for the Hudson's Bay Company:

> The wind blew pretty fresh when I reached the Big Point, but the swell was

Mohawk men and women. Note the Hudson's Bay blankets and hats

by no means high, still my Iroquois seemed reluctant to attempt the traverse. Yet, the whoop was immediately given and in a moment the canoe was in the water. All went well, until we came to the opening of the bay on the right where a very heavy sea was running, here we began to ship water, when the guide ordered the steersman to be changed, and the bowsman removed to the second bar which lightened the canoe by the head. This measure was of the utmost importance. A small oil cloth was then handed to the men in front, who threw it over the head of the canoe when danger was apprehended from the breaking of the sea. The silence that prevailed when one of those heavy swells was seen rolling upon us was truly appalling, the paddles were embarked and all watched its approach with perfect composure. Our new steersman with the utmost dexterity kept plying our slender bark, by placing her in the best position of defence. The moment it passed every paddle was in the water, and every nerve stretched to gain the land. In this manner we made a small island sheltered by a reef of rocks, but in doubling this point our canoe nearly filled, and although two men were constantly employed in bailing out the water, fifty yards more would have swamped us.

I have frequently heard the Canadian and and Iroquois voyageurs disputed as regards their merits, perhaps the former may be more hardy or undergo more fatigue, but in either a rapid or a traver, give me the latter, from their calmness and presence of mind which never forsakes them in the greatest danger. [7]

Records of the Hudson's Bay Com-

Native camp outside of Montreal

pany indicate that the Kanienkehaka were excellent trappers and hunters. Simpson wrote that the Kanienkehaka usually demanded higher wages and more money for their furs, but that they were clearly worth the extra cost. A Mohawk trapping party sometimes brought in four times the average yield of western natives. For example, in 1821 a party of thirteen Kanienkehaka brought in 542 large beaver skins and 127 smaller skins to the Hudson's Bay outpost on the Snake River. One Kanienkehaka alone brought in 50 skins, the limit that he could possibly carry.

Perhaps the Kanienkehaka were too good at fur trapping. The Hudson's Bay officers used to encourage the Kanienkehaka to trap for the furs. They delighted when the Kanienkehaka returned with high yields, yet they were distressed that too many beavers were being killed, and not enough were reproducing to take the places of the catch.

Most of the Kanienkehaka eventually returned to their home on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Some stayed behind in the Rockies, however, and eventually adapted to the environment of the northern plains. In the 1850's an English nobleman was traveling west across Canada when he happened to meet a family of western Kanienkehaka. This family treated the nobleman to a breakfast of roasted skunk, presen-

Pulling furs over the ice on a sled

ted him with a gift of a gun cover of moose leather, ornamented with fringes and narrow braidings of red and black cloth. The nobleman described the hunters as follows:

> These hunters are fine-looking men; either in the usual fringed leather hunting shirts, or in blue cloth capots. Their caps of blue cloth, small, with a leather shade, and covered with streamers of ribbon, chiefly black, blue and red.
>
> They have large herds of excellent horses – ponies we should call them at home, – among them several stallions. One pretty brown pony passed us, carrying a little girl five or six years old, who was riding quite alone. Near one of the tents I saw two girls, of much the same age, cleaning a beaver skin with a bone, while two others were cutting up fat with great knives.[8]

Some of these western Kanienkehaka were later encountered by Professor A.P. Coleman of the University of Toronto in 1907. Coleman hired a Mohawk guide, whose ancestors had come originally from Kahnawake. Coleman described his guide as "resplendent in one of the silk embroidered buckskins suits" of the period:

> ... the most typical and efficient Indian I have ever encountered, a striking figure, of powerful physical and tireless muscles, and thoroughly master of everything necessary for the hunter in the mountains. His fine black horse was like unto him, and quite ruled over our bunch of ponies, in spite of being a stranger among them. Adolphus was the ideal

> centaur, at home in the wilderness, and quite naturally dominated the little party of Indians who had been travelling with us though he was not more than twenty-one... [9]

2. The Kanienkehaka Communities Out West

In all, there were three groups of Kanienkehaka who stayed behind in the west and never returned to their communities in Kanienkeh. These three groups are Michel's Band, The Rocky Mountain Kanienkehaka, and the Grand Prairie Kanienkehaka.

Michel's Band. The largest band of Kanienkehaka to stay in the west is called Michel's Band. It was formed by the decendents of Michel and Baptiste Calihoo (Karehiio). They were two of the sons of Louis Kwarakwante who was mentioned earlier. These Kanienkehaka moved to Lake St. Anne, fifty miles from Edmonton, Alberta. Here they accepted a 25,600 acre reserve. They signed Treaty no. 6 with the Canadian government, guaranteeing the protection of their lands as an Indian reserve in Canada. The reserve land had been reduced from its original 25,600 acres to 15,485 by 1928. Finally, on March 31, 1958 the remaining members of Michel's band became enfranchised by Order in Council P.C. 1958-375. From that time on the Kanienkehaka of Michel's Band have been considered Canadian citizens, and their reserve a municipality.

Rocky Mountain Kanienkehaka. Ignace Wanyante, Louis Kwarakwante's friend from Kahnawake, was the founder of the Rocky Mountain group. He married Marie Sekanaise of the Sekani Nation. Together they had two daughters and three sons. Two of these sons married women of Michel's band, but settled in the Rocky Mountains. The Rocky Mountain Kanienkehaka later intermarried with the Crees and the Stony Indians. They still retained their identity and language as Kanienkehaka. The Rocky Mountain Kanienkehaka today live around Jasper Lake of Jasper National Park In Alberta.

The Grand Prairie Kanienkehaka. The Grand Prairie Kanienkehaka are the descendents of Michel's Band who refused to agree to the terms of Treaty No. 6 and who refused to enfranchise. This group took up farming in the high prairies. They almost lost their identity as a group in the Yukon Gold Rush, but managed to survive and establish profitable farms where they grew oats, barley and wheat.

3. A Change In Mohawk Economy

All of this started because a group

of Mohawk men looking for work in the late 1700's decided to serve as voyageurs for the Northwest Company. With so many men so far from home, the Mohawk women had a challenging task keeping the affairs of the nation in good order, and in guaranteeing that no encroachments be made onto Mohawk land.

Although this was a considerable challenge, the women of the nation met it successfully. This was the beginning of years of change for the Kanienkehaka, and the women had to make sure that the changes that the Kanienkehaka made were good for them. The Great Law of Peace warns that a person should have vision that will see seven generations into the future. Decisions made today should be made wisely, with the full knowledge and understanding of how they will affect the future of the nation.

The Kanienkehaka Began To Use New Materials. The kinds of changes that were being introduced to the Kanienkehaka during these years were many and varied. For example, it was in the early 1800's that the Kanienkehaka began to use split logs for the construction of their homes, instead of the customary bark and pole structure. These log homes had windows of greased paper, and later of glass. Doors were added, as a sign of the need for stricter security in and around Mohawk settlements.

With more contact with Europeans there was an increase in trade between the native nations and Montreal. Trade items such as iron and brass kettles, knives and hatchets were introduced into the communities of Kanesatake, Kahnawake, Akwesasne, Tyendinaga and Six Nations. All of these items made work for Mohawk women a bit easier. Unfortunately they also heralded the beginning of a decline in some important traditional technologies: pottery, stone work (for example the making of stone knives, mortars, hatchets, and other tools) and woodwork.

The first Mohawk settlements to introduce these changes were the settlements of Six Nations and Akwesasne. Akwesasne was described briefly by Lord Selkirk as he traveled past it on the St. Lawrence, late in the 1700's:

> Crossed from Cornwall to St. Regis an Indian Village of about 200 warriors – moved from Cagheuiaga by one of the French Missionaries to keep them farther from the Rum of Montreal – They have tolerable log houses, iron stoves – chimneys – glass windows etc – & on the whole are not worse lodged than the generality of labourers in Scotland & even in many parts of England – They cultivate a good deal of Ind. Corn – the heads of which they hang up in strings inside or outside of their houses without

A native trapper's camp

fear of theft – they pound it in mortars hollowed out of trees – They also feed Cattle & pigs – The men are now out on their deer hunt – The women employ themselves in making moccasins from deer skins – which they sell at 1/2$ a pair – some in making besoms from pieces of Swamp Ash which splits very easily into thongs almost as pliable as leather – they turn it to many purposes. They make pitchers of Elm bark – many of their houses are of square log & shingled but more of rough log covered with Elm bark. – The Indns. have contributed for building a Mill, the revenue of which they allow the priest...
10

Another very important change introduced at this time was in terms of clothing and clothing styles. Up until this time, most clothing was made of soft leather, tanned and with the fur taken off. Working three hours a day, it took about six weeks to prepare leather and make it into a shirt or skirt. Leather clothing was decorated with designs made from quills of a porcupine. Outer clothing used in the cold winter months, such as jackets, blankets, and heavy shawls, were made of skins with the fur still on. Sometimes they were made with the skin of animals such as bear, moose or buffalo. The Kaneinkehaka hunted the buffalo in the Ohio Valley, or on the prairies in the west.

Gradually Mohawk women began to substitute beads for the decorative quill work. Contrary to what many native people think, beadwork is an European technology. Natives originally used either much larger beads made from wood or shell. Glass beads made in Venice or Czechoslovakia were introduced into Mohawk country around this time, as trade items by the British. Gradually Mohawk women began decorating clothing with bits of brightly colored cloth and beadwork.

The Kanienkehaka Adopted A Cash Economy. By the year 1800, cloth was being traded to the western nations in exchange for furs. The Kanienkehaka still living in Kanienkeh had no furs to trade, so how were they able to get cloth?

Here is how they did it. A Kanienkehaka signed up with the Northwest Company for three years. He would bring along a few of his sons with him if they were old enough to work. After three years of trapping and paddling for the Northwest Company or the Hudson's Bay Company they returned home. When they arrived at Montreal they went to the company office and received pay for their three years of service. In some cases, their wives or mothers would have already picked up the pay.

In any event, the men were originally not able to bring home their own furs if they traveled in a company canoe. All available space was used for the company cargo. Therefore, in or-

York Fort in America Anno: 1715

The Standard of Trade 1715

As Settld by the Governour

The Several sorts of Trading Goods	Valid as Beaver
These Valid p Weight	
Shott of 3 sorts Sizes	4 p 1
Powder	1 p 1
Kettles	1 p 1½
Brazill Tobacco	½ p 1
Role Tobacco	1 p 1
leaf Tobacco	1½ p 1
Vermillion	1 p 1
Beads	½ p 1
Thread	1 p 2½
Sugar	2 p 1
Hard Soap	1½ p 1
of Goods Valid p Tale or Number	
Guns and Peat	1 p 1½
Hatchetts	1 p 1
Knives	4 p 1
Sea Chisells	1 p 1
Scrapers	2 p 1
Bagonetts	1 p 1
Mocolawgans	2 p 1
Sword Blades	2 p 1
Awls	8 p 1
Nett Lines	1 p 1
Seaing of twine	1 p 1½
Fishgorge	2 p 1
Powder horns	1 p 1
Flints	16 p 1
Fire Steels	4 p 1
Hawks Bells	12 p 1
Looking Glasses	1 p 1

The Several sorts of Trading Goods	Valid as Beaver
These Several sorts Valid p Tale or Number	
Tobacco Tongs	2 p 1
Tobacco Boxes	1 p 1
Sword Combs	1 p 1
Box Combs	2 p 1
Horn Combs	2 p 1
Milled Stockins	1 p 2½
Yarn Stockins	1 p 1½
Yarn Gloves p	1 p 1
White Shirts	1 p 2
Course Shirts	1 p 1½
Blew Shirts	1 p 1½
Capp	1 p 1
Needles	12 p 1
Shoos	1 p 1
Tinn Coat Buttons	Gorge 1 p 3
Halfcoat Buttons	1 p 2
with hooks	12 p 1
Valid p Medly	
Cloth	1 p 3
Duffell	1 p 2
Baize	1 p 1½
Flannell	1 p 1½
Gartering	1½ p 1
Deer Skins	2 p 1
Moose Skins	1 p 2

Goods in the Fort for security. Goods where they are [illegible]

Bill of lading from the Hudson's Bay Co.

York Fort America Anno Dom: 1715

From Septem: 8th: 1714 to August y 1: 1715

The Acc^t of w^t Skins & ye Sev^ll Sorts as hath been traded for in the time of this Acc and Packt up to be sent home and Valid into Beav as Likewise made out what ~~[illegible]~~ Over gaind by Trade as Appears w^t ye Goods as is Traded and Valude p^r Standard Amounts ~~to~~ viz:

The Severall Sorts of Skins trade for in the time of this Acc^t: vizt: — and packt up to be sent home	Number of Skins	Valude		into	Beavor	Value and Beavor
Whole Parchment Beavor	11120	1	as	1	11120	
Half Parchment Beavor	2080	2	as	1	1040	
Coat Beavor	3250	1	as	1	3250	
Moose	2390	1	as	2	4780	
Moose Small	20	1	as	1	20	
Moose Fawn	5	1	as	½	2	
Lucequihatch or Woolverhen	24	1	as	2	48	
Martins	1550	3	as	1	516 ⅔	
Buffelos	2	1	as	3	6	
Fisherettes	2	2	as	1	1	
Muskoe Ratts	8	8	as	1	1	
Deer Skins	2	2	as	1	1	
1/100 of Castoreum		1½	as	1	2	
1080 Bears hoofs		24	as	1	45	

Toto. Packt up to be sent home ye Years trade Valid in Beavers - £21078

On ye Opposite Side appears to Goods traded Valud 16602 ⅔

3 Beavor Cont: 24 Skins as p^r Acc^t of Loss Add: Takinoutstock wch bring 30 Moose Skins and 40 Deer Skins Add to ye Acc^t wch was Purchad by trading Goods as the 24 Skins above was the Deer & Moose Skins Valued in Beavor & Which is add^d likewise to those Bought home — 104

21182

To be here taken out ye Goods traded & those packt up to send home y 43 Pieces from Albany Fort & 29 Skins for repairs — 72 — 72

Value of Goods traded & purchasd by trade 16530 — 21110 — 16530

Overgaind p^r by trade — 4580

Bill of lading from the Hudson's Bay Co.

A Kahnawake woman: 1800's

der to obtain cloth, they took some of their wages and purchased the cloth at the company store. This may not seem like a huge change for the Kanienkehaka, but it was.

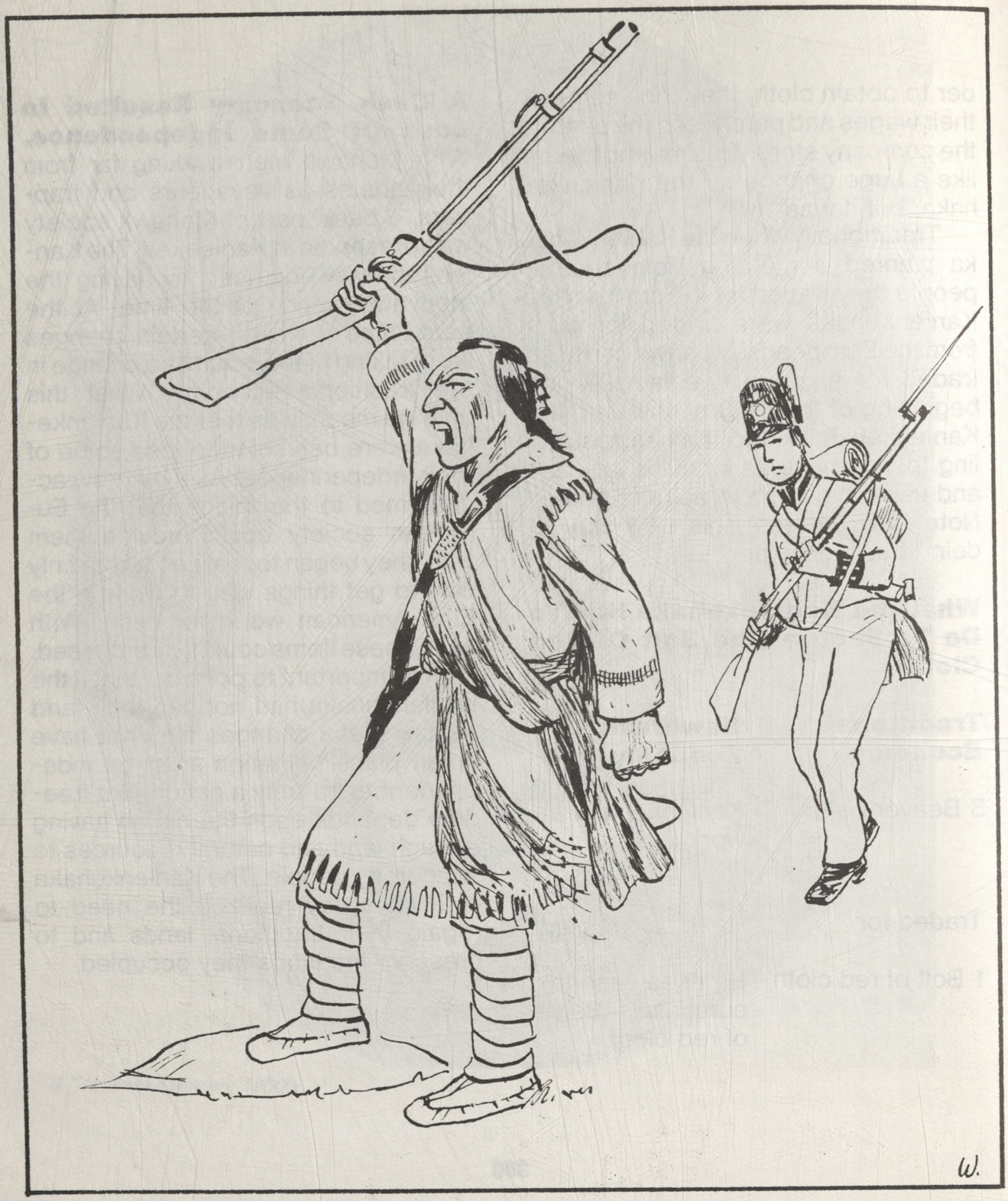
Traditionally when the Kanienkehaka wanted something from another people they traded for it. Furs from the Kanienkehaka were traded for guns from the Europeans. Mohawk corn was traded for Algonquin venison. At the beginning of the 1800's, however, the Kanienkehaka found themselves selling their service as laborers for cash and using the cash to acquire goods. Note how different this new way of doing business was:

What the Kanienkehaka Had To Do To Secure One Bolt Of Red Cloth

Traditional Economy	New Cash Economy
3 Beaver pelts	Kanienkehaka works
Traded for	He is paid in cash
1 Bolt of red cloth	He uses cash to purchase 1 Bolt of red cloth

A Cash Economy Resulted In Loss Of Some Independence. With Mohawk men working far from their homes as voyageurs and trappers, a basic part of Mohawk society was preserved in Kanienkeh. The Kanienkehaka were used to having the men away much of the time. At the same time however, certain changes were taking place, such as a change in the traditional economy. What this change meant was that the Kanienkehaka were beginning to lose some of their independence. As they grew accustomed to the things that the European society could provide them with, they began to realize that the only way to get things was to work in the Euro-American world for cash. With cash, these items could be purchased.

It is important to point out that if the Kanienkehaka had not had their land stolen, these changes may not have taken place. A nation must be independent to be truly a nation. But freedom depends upon the nation having enough land and natural resources to support its people. The Kanienkehaka of a later day realized the need to regain their traditional lands and to preserve the lands they occupied.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Chapter 19
The Kanienkehaka In The War Of 1812

In the early 1800's, the Kanienkehaka occupied three settlements in the northern part of Kanienkeh, and two outside of the Kanienkeh. The three settlements inside of Kanienkeh were Kahnawake, Akwesasne and Kanesatake. The two outside of Kanienkeh were Tyendinaga at the Bay of Quinte and the Six Nations reserve along the Grand River. The Kanienkehaka of the Six Nations reserve eventually adopted a life of farming. The Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake, Kanesatake, Akwesasne and Tyendinaga were active in the fur trade. The close of the eighteenth century had been hard on the Kanienkehaka.

The new century was demanding. If the Kanienkehaka were to survive as a people, additional attacks from Euro-American society must be successfully thrown back. This is the only way the culture, language and the Great Law of Peace could be preserved for future generations.

The Kanienkehaka looked forward to a century of peace and rebuilding in the early 1800's. They had been caught between two great warring powers for 200 years. The people needed peace from European warfare. Unfortunately this peace was not to last. In 1812 the British and the Americans were once again at war with one another. Again the Kanienkehaka found themselves caught in the middle of a conflict that was not their own.

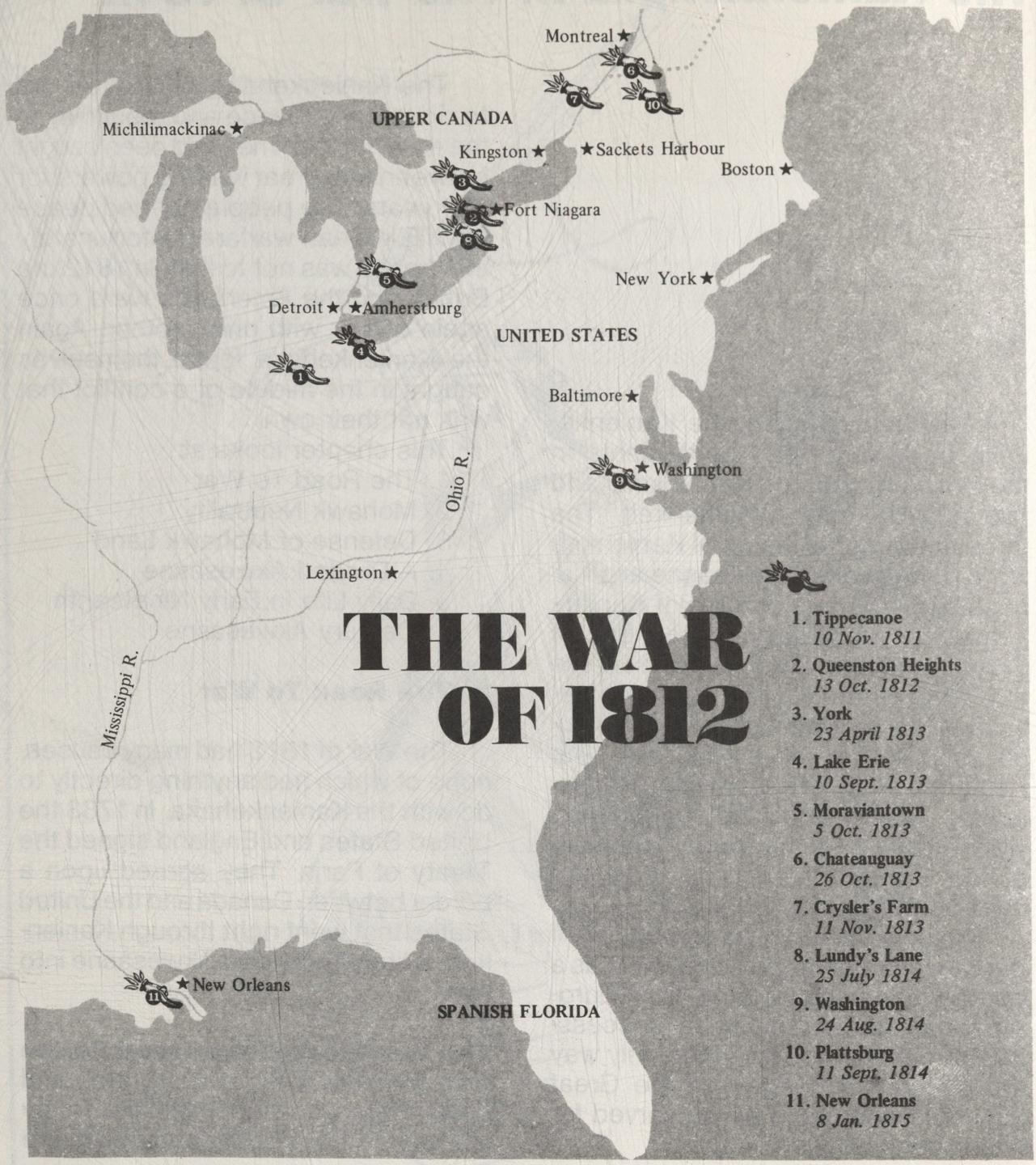
This chapter looks at:

1. The Road To War
2. Mohawk Neutrality
3. Defense of Mohawk Land
4. A Divided Akwesasne
5. Daily Life In Early Nineteenth Century Akwesasne

1. The Road To War

The War of 1812 had many causes, none of which had anything directly to do with the Kanienkehaka. In 1783 the United States and England signed the Treaty of Paris. They agreed upon a border between Canada and the United States that went right through Kanienkeh. It literally divided Akwesasne into two.

The Jay Treaty Preserved Peace For Awhile. The United States and England were not happy with the Treaty of Paris. In 1794 both countries made


THE WAR OF 1812
Montreal
UPPER CANADA
Michilimackinac
Kingston
Sackets Harbour
Boston
Fort Niagara
New York
Detroit
Amherstburg
UNITED STATES
Baltimore
Washington
Ohio R.
Lexington
Mississippi R.
New Orleans
SPANISH FLORIDA
1. Tippecanoe
10 Nov. 1811
2. Queenston Heights
13 Oct. 1812
3. York
23 April 1813
4. Lake Erie
10 Sept. 1813
5. Moraviantown
5 Oct. 1813
6. Chateauguay
26 Oct. 1813
7. Crysler's Farm
11 Nov. 1813
8. Lundy's Lane
25 July 1814
9. Washington
24 Aug. 1814
10. Plattsburg
11 Sept. 1814
11. New Orleans
8 Jan. 1815

another treaty in order to avoid war with each other. The American representative was John Jay. The treaty was named after this man.On November 19, 1794 the Jay Treaty was finalized between the United States and Great Britain. The treaty stated that native people would be allowed free passage over the border, and would be able to transport goods without paying duties and taxes. The treaty honored the fact that the Mohawk Nation still existed despite the boundaries set by European and American governments. The Jay Treaty postponed war between the United States and England for eighteen years.

It is difficult to say exactly what the causes of the War of 1812 were. Generally, as with most wars fought by Europeans, greed was an underlying motivation. At the outbreak of the war, England was also fighting a war in Europe. This was a good opportunity for the United States to try to gain control of Canada. England had to concentrate its fighting force in Europe. There was a good chance that the United States could defeat the British in Canada. Then Canada would be in the hands of the United States.

When war was declared in June 1812, the Americans mobilized three armies against Canada. Brigadier-General Hull commanded the western army out of his headquarters at Detroit. General Van Renssalaer commanded the central army out of his headquarters at Niagara. The northern army under General Dearborn was organized to operate against Canada by way of Lake Champlain.

2. Mohawk Neutrality

The British told the Kanienkehaka at Kahnawake and Akwesasne that they would be needed to fight the Americans in the area of Niagara Falls. The Kanienkehaka refused. This refusal earned them the anger of the governor of Upper and Lower Canada, Sir George Prevost. Prevost was new to dealing with the Kanienkehaka. He had not yet learned that the Kanienkehaka did not consider themselves as Canadian citizens. The Kanienkehaka told Prevost that they would defend their own lands, but not under the command of Canadian or British officers.

At first the Six Nations Confederacy wanted to remain neutral. The discussion over neutrality between the Iroquois living outside of the national territories and those still living in Iroquoia is described by John Norton in his journal:

> In June 1812, – a Deputation of the Younger Chiefs from the Ondowaga, Onondague and Cayugwas living within the American Boundary, came to the council fire at the Grand River; – they avowed their Motive was to commune

with the Brethren, that they might avoid involving themselves in the difficulties attendant on War. The Chiefs and Warriors of the Grand River assembled, – and on the first day the Ondowaga, opening the Council after the usual salutations, – Billy, as speaker for the Deputation, arose and spoke to this purport, – "Brother, – We have come from our homes to warn you, that you may preserve yourselves and families from distress. We discover that the British and the Americans are on the Eve of a War, – they are in dispute respecting some rights on the Sea, with which we are unacquainted; – should it end in a Contest, let us keep aloof: – Why should we again fight, and call upon our selves the resentment of the Conquerors? We know that neither of these powers have any regard for us. In the former War, we espoused the cause of the King, we thought it the most honourable, – all our former Treaties having been made with his Representatives. After contending seven years without ever listening to the pacific overtures sent from the Enemy, – we found, – that Peace was concluded across the Sea, and that our Enemy claimed our Territory in consequence of the Boundary Line then acceded to. We found none to assist us to obtain Justice; we were compelled to rely on ourselves, and make the best of it. Experience has convinced us of their neglect, except when they want us. Why then should we endanger the comfort, even the existence of our families, to enjoy their smiles only for the Day in which they need us?

"The American Agent, who lives in our Neighbourhood, has told us, that the United States do not require our assistance, – that their number is endless and adequate to every emergency of War: – this entirely meets our sentiments, – We are in their power, but we do not wish to join them in War.

"Brother, – We entreat that you also sit still in your habitations, regardless of the Tempest of Battle, – you may thus escape unhurt and unobserved by the enraged Combatants.

"Let us now pledge ourselves to each other to observe a strict neutrality. We may then meet again with our hearts unclouded by disagreeable circumstances – without a threatening Cloud. We hope our Words may penetrate your hearts, – take this Wampum, – in token of our sincerity."

Taking the Wampum, the People of the Grand River withdrew to deliberate. At this time, there was a party among the Mohawks strongly inclined to pursue the Line of conduct recommended by the Deputation from the other side, and ambitious to inculcate similar sentiments into the minds of all the people of the Grand River.

It took up two days before an answer could be made, – "Brother – We act from a disinterested Love to our people, and to ensure their welfare and preservation, – We shall lay before you the reasons which induce us to recommend a neutrality. The gloomy Day, foretold by our ancients, has at last arrived; – the Independence and Glory of the Five Nations has departed from us; – We find ourselves in the hands of two powerful Nations, who can crush us when they please. They are the same in every respect, although they

are now preparing to contend. We are ignorant of the real motives which urge them to arm, but we are well assured that we have no interest therein, and that neither one nor other have any affection towards us. We know that our Blood shed in their Battles will not even ensure their compassion to our Widows and Orphans, – nor respect to our Tribes weakened in their Contests. Has not our Nation partaken in ev'ry War in which the English have been engaged, – since they first joined hands, (for then the English and Americans were one). In Standing between them and the French, many a Valiant Warrior has fallen. But although we have thus been weakened, and deprived of our Independence, it has not been by the Victories of a Conqueror, – it has been the neglect or Unkindness of our Friends. Seeing therefore, that no good can be derived from War, we think we should only seek the surest means of averting its attendant Evils: We are of opinion that we should follow the example of some of their people, who never bear arms in war, and deprecate the principle of hostility."[1]

3. The Defense of Mohawk Land

Neutrality remained the official position of the Confederacy, except in those circumstances when Iroquois territory was invaded. In December of 1812 a Mohawk fighting force was organized under Mohawk leadership to defend the territory around Kahnawake. This force was led by Captain Delormier of Kahnawake.

The Kanienkehaka Turned Back The Americans At the Battle of Chateauguay. Delormier's force did not see any action until October of 1813. At this time, an American army of 4000 was advancing towards Montreal through the valley of the Chateauguay River. An advance force from the American army was led by Colonel Robert Purdy. On October 26, 1813, Purdy's force met an army of 460 British, French Canadians and Kanienkehaka. The Kanienkehaka under Delormier were from Kahnawake and Kanesatake. The combined force of the British, French and Kanienkehaka was led by Colonel Charles de Salaberry.

The British, French and Kanienkehaka took up good defensive positions along the Chateauguay River. The Americans had heard that the Kanienkehaka were with the British. When 350 Mohawk warriors gave their war cries, the Americans thought that there were ten times that number. This unnerved the Americans a great deal. After very little fighting the American force retreated to Plattsburgh and never tried to march on Montreal again.

The Kanienkehaka Turned Back The Americans At The Battle Of Beaver Dam. The Six Nations reserve was under threat of an advancing American army. The Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake, Akwesasne and Kanesatake joined with the Six Nations Kanien-

de Salaberry

kehaka to protect Iroquois land. They fought together at the Battle of Beaver Dam in 1814. The battle was described in Woods, The War With The United States:

> All the thickets, woods, creeks and swamps, were closely beset by a body of expert persistent Indians who gradually increased from two hundred and fifty to four hundred men. They were all in excellent touch with each other. Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, who commanded them, generously acknowledged that "not a shot was fired on our side by any but the Indians. They beat the American detachment into a state of terror."[2]

Norton wrote about the Battle of Beaver Dam later. He remarked:

> the Cognawaga Indians fought the battle, the Mohawks (of Six Nations) got the plunder, and General Fitzgibbon got the credit.[3]

4. A Divided Akwesasne

During the war of 1812 Mohawk territory was again invaded by the Americans. The Grand Council felt the need to remain neutral in the war. This position was followed except in those cases when Mohawk land was threatened at Chateauguay and at Beaver Dam. Akwesasne, straddling the so-called border between the United States and Canada, was not attacked in the War of 1812. The Akwesasne people remained neutral during the fighting.

The Trustees Received Money From The United States. In order to understand Akwesasne neutrality and how the War of 1812 affected the community, it is necessary to review events in Akwesasne from 1796 to 1812. The fraudulent Seven Indian Nations of Canada Treaty in 1796 had created three positions of trustees. The trustees received money from the United States to help run the whole community. The three trustees were officially recognized in 1802 by the State of New York. At that time a law was passed stating:

> every year thereafter...hold a town meeting on their said reservation, within the state, and by a majority of male Indians above, twenty-one years of age,...choose a clerk...That it...be lawful for the said tribe...to make such rules, orders and regulations, respecting the improvement of any other of their lands in said reservation...and to choose trustees for carrying the same into execution.[4]

The first three trustees elected under this system were William Gray, Louis Cook and Loren Tarbell. They were agents for the State of New York who did not have the support of the people.

Meanwhile the traditional system of electing chiefs from the whole settlement continued. Akwesasne had twelve chiefs, not nine as was customary with most Mohawk settlements. The extra three chiefs represented the Snipe

clan. The Snipes were originally Onondaga who had settled at Akwesasne after leaving Oswegatchie. For the most part, decisions and deliberations were made under the traditional system outlined in the Great Law of Peace. The New York State Trustees were largely ignored. They continued to collect money from the United States.

Akwesasne People Were Captives In Their Own Community. At the outbreak of the War of 1812 Akwesasne was determined to remain neutral. The British pretended to support this position. However, they moved troops into St. Regis village and forced a number of Mohawk men into service against their will. The people of Akwesasne were confined to the settlement by both the British and the Americans:

> they could not travel, even where acquainted, without procuring a pass.... A paper, stating that the bearer was a quiet and peaceable Indian... they were accustomed to solicit, and this they would hold up in sight, when still at a distance, that those who might meet them should not be alarmed. They likewise accustomed to require persons travelling across their reservation, to have, if strangers, a pass, purporting the peaceable nature of their business. The chiefs.... appointed certain persons to grant these passes...[5]

The Akwesasne Kanienkehaka had trusted the Americans and the British but the result was that they were captive in their own community. Not able to pass out of the community, the Kanienkehaka were forced to appeal to the British and the Americans for relief aid. The British would only give aid to the Kanienkehaka on the "Canadian side of the River" and the Americans would only supply the Kanienkehaka on the "American side". From this time on, the Americans and the British refused to treat Akwesasne as one community. The New York Trustees continued to be appointed, but they only served the "American side".

Why did the American and Canadian governments act the way they did in the War of 1812? The answer to this question can be found in a report written by Fr. Joseph Marcoux in 1818. Marcoux was a missionary at St. Regis who was asked by the British government to report on activities in the village during the War of 1812. The British government had asked Akwesasne to remain neutral during the war. Now that the war was over, they were considering punishing the Akwesasne people for keeping their promise to remain neutral.

Akwesasne People Had To Accept Charity. Fr. Marcoux noted that by forbidding the people of Akwesasne from hunting deer on the south shore of the river, the Kanienkehaka from that side were forced to accept charity from the American government. The Americans were beginning to realize

an important lesson, one that they were to use many times later in the future. The best way to control a people is to make them dependent. Soon the Akwesasne people on the south side were dependent upon food provisions from the Americans. The Americans could then starve the people into submission and force them to accept the trustee system of government.

On one occasion when the Kanienkehaka of Akwesasne went to the Salmon River to collect food from the Americans, the soldiers provided the young people with alcohol. Once they were drunk the Americans gave the Kanienkehaka guns and ammunition. They were instructed to attack the British. Actually the Americans had full intentions of wiping out the Akwesasne community, at least on the New York side of the river. By giving the young warriors liquor and advising them to attack the British this end would be accomplished. Fortunately the plan did not work. After sleeping off the whiskey the Kanienkehaka returned to their village.

Akwesasne Was Divided By Border And Trusteeship Government. The Americans and the British knew that the best way to gain control over a people was to make them dependent. Another method of doing this is to divide a people. There is an old British saying, Divide and Conquer. By refusing to recognize the Akwesasne Kanienkehaka on both sides of the river, the Americans and the British were together contributing to a division in the community.

It is a fact today that every Mohawk settlement except Ganienkeh has two rival systems of government. These two systems are often at odds with one another. The divisions at Akwesasne began before they did in any other community. These divisions began with the Seven Indian Nations of Canada Treaty and in 1802 when New York State began the trustee system of government. The trustees were in conflict with the already established traditional system.

Divisions in Akwesasne became even more pronounced after the War of 1812. Now, in addition to the distinction between traditional chiefs and trustees, there was an American side and a Canadian side. The Kanienkehaka continued to ignore these divisions imposed by the Americans and the British. Eventually however, they were to cause a great deal of trouble in Akwesasne and amongst the Kanienkehaka in general.

In his report, Fr. Marcoux writes about the new system of chiefs imposed by the Americans. He states that this system was supposed to replace the traditional system and that it did not

have the support of the people. The trustee system did not give the people any control over their own affairs. The elections were controlled by the Americans and often the results were announced before the election even took place. When trustees were elected and given money by the United States government to distribute to the poor of the village, only the trustees themselves or their families ever received any of these gifts. Under this system there was nothing that the people could do.

The new trustees were involved in the loss of additional Akwesasne land. The Akwesasne people controlled lands on both sides of the river. Some lands were used for hunting, while others were reserved for farming. The new trustees immediately began giving up these lands when they assumed power. This action showed very clearly who the trustees were really working for: the government of the United States, not the Kanienkehaka.

The Treaty of Ghent Ended The War. The United States and Britain both signed the treaty of peace to end the War of 1812 at Ghent, Belgium. The treaty was signed on December 24, 1814. According to the treaty the United States and England restored to all native people the full rights and boundaries that they had occupied before the outbreak of hostilities. Therefore, the Jay Treaty which basically states that the border does not exist for the Kanienkehaka was once again in effect.

Neither the British nor the Americans respected this part of the treaty. Fr. Marcoux reminded the British of their responsibilities to the Kanienkehaka in this regard. His advice and pleadings went unnoticed.

Kanienkehaka Or American Citizens? In 1814 the boundary was once again surveyed, this time by Major John Delafield. This work was supported by the American government. The Americans hoped to buy the rest of the Akwesasne lands from the trustees and to remove the whole village to some location further west. In 1821 a group of Mohawk people from the New York side of Akwesasne appealed to the New York State government to recognize Thomas Williams, Lewis Doublehouse and Peter Tarbell as trustees. In 1824 a group of sixty asked that Mitchel Cook and Charles Cook be added to this list. This group then declared allegiance to the United States of America:

> Know all whom it may concern, that we... do solemnly declare ourselves, to belong to the American Tribe of St. Regis Indians, that we owe no fealty to the British government, nor receive any annuities or benefits from the same; that we were friendly to the United States during the late war, and have continued to be so

since, and that it is our fixed determination, to establish and continue our residence within the limits of the said United States, the protection and countenance, and especially of the State of New York, we hereby claim for the said tribe...[6]

By June of 1824 these men were recognized by New York State as trustees. They immediately set out to betray the trust of the people by selling more reserve land.

The trustee system was working well for the United States. The Kanienkehaka were surrendering their rights and their lands. The greatness of the Mohawk Nation was becoming a memory that only the very old could recall. A generation of Kanienkehaka at Akwesasne were born into an American system.

5. Daily Life In Early Nineteenth Century Akwesasne

Delafield spent a great deal of his time in Akwesasne surveying the boundaries. His diary contains a number of impressions and descriptions of daily life in Akwesasne. A few of Delafield's remarks are included here:

The Indians are civil and docile, but when in liquor. Attended vespers in the church, where there was an appearance of devotion and much decency – none but females present, who were mostly covered with dark cloth mantles in lieu of the common blanket, adding to the solemnity.

The Grand Isle is a beautiful and rich isle – elm, maple, birch and bass wood. The North West end is most rough, and there is occasionally a ridge of or rather a flat of sand. Considerably cultivated by Indians. Could not learn that they could grant satisfactory titles. An apple orchard was then in full bloom. Strawberry, blackberry and gooseberry vines are found. The elm produces the greatest quantity of strongest ashes. The maple perhaps as strong, but not so great a quantity – and are the best wood for ashes. Weather moderate, thermometer about 60°. Sent dispatches to Secrey. of State, by dispatch to Salmon River.

The Indians celebrate this day as their greatest holiday (Corpus Christi), under the management of the Catholic Priest. Attended church where ceremony was conducted with great decency and solemnity. Two files of armed Indians with rife & c. and each file bearing two English standards formed thro the centre of the church dividing male and female. They alternately chanted the service with unexpected harmony and in very good time. The music was reduced to some scientific scale, their leaders using notes. After the ceremony the armed Indians formed in the same order without, and after firing a round the Priest with his train formed a procession through the village followed by most of the inhabitants after the manner of the Catholics. As is the Indian custom there were built by the women, two arbors and little coverings, fancifully decorated with all the ribbons, pictures, mirrors, tinsel and the like that could be collected. On the Priest's arriving at these, he entered and went thro with

some portion of the service in which his followers joined with great zeal.

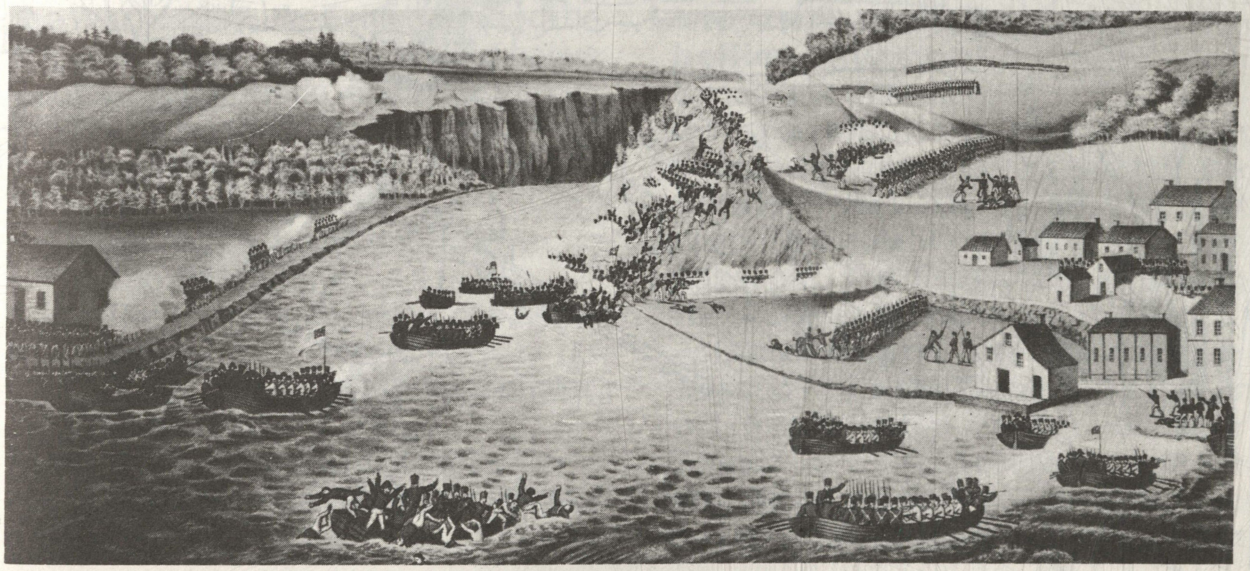
The village had been prepared for the occasion, by sweeping the lanes which are in green sod, and very regular, and planting rows of poplar and hemlock, on either side giving it quite a fanciful appearance.

The Indians of the village turn out to hunt deer back of the town, having got in their rear they spread from St. Regis to the Racket River, with the view of driving them to the St. Lawrence: man a canoe and join the hunt, the deer are beset by the dogs and driven across the Racket.[7]

Describing the lands of Akwesasne Delafield remarks:

There are some good looking fields of grain on this island, which are cultivated almost exclusively by the women. Corn, wheat, peas and potatoes and beans chiefly. He who first cultivated a plot of ground becomes the possessor, and by this use gains a right to sell his privilege. The Chief Loran, an industrious sober and prudent old man, is the greatest farmer and has the most cleared land by purchase of privilege in part. Before the Priest settled among them they had a custom in marriage somewhat descriptive of their habits; the man presents his bride with a deer skin, the woman – her bridegroom with an Indian corn. The first as his pledge to support their family by hunting, the second as her pledge of industry at home in cultivating the fields.[8]

This drawing of the battle of Queenston Heights (13 October, 1812) is a composite picture. It depicts as taking place at one and the same time troop movements and encounters that occurred on different occasions in the course of three days. At a later date, when an engraving made from the painting was printed for public distribution, it caused even greater confusion. The colors of the two armies were reversed: the British (defending on the right) appeared in blue tunics, and the Americans (attacking across the river) in red uniforms.



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Chapter 20
The Kanienkehaka And Les Patriotes

When the French surrendered to General Amherst in 1759, certain rights of the French Canadians were guaranteed by the Articles of Capitulation. These rights were further guaranteed in the Quebec Act of 1763. The French Canadians were told that their language would be protected. The French school system, the Catholic religion and the French courts were all to be left intact by the English. During the American War of Independence and the War of 1812, the British needed the support of both the French and native people. After these conflicts ended, the British began to ignore the rights of both the French and native people in Canada.

This chapter tells about:

1. The Patriotes
2. The Patriote Invasion of Kahnawake
3. Daily Life Of The Kanienkehaka: 1840-1850
4. The Kahnawake Council's Demand For The Return Of Rented Land

1. The Patriotes

The concern of French Canadians with the developments in Canada came to a head in 1822. At this time the British suggested a union of Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec). It was suggested that a single parliament meet and pass laws, and that after fifteen years the single language of the assembly be English. Louis Joseph Papineau, a French Canadian, led the fight to have the rights of the French Canadians recognized. Those French Canadians who strived for their rights were called Patriotes.

Election Trouble Gave The Patriotes Reason To Plan For Rebellion. The troubles of the French Canadians started to mount in 1832. During an election in Montreal, British troops were sent out to control the crowds. Three men were shot and killed. To the Patriotes the event was a massacre. The French began talking about open rebellion.

Dissatisfaction was not only expressed in Lower Canada. The poor and middle class English of Upper Canada were also dissatisfied with the way things were. The French viewed the problems as one involving a conflict

between the French and the English. The English of Upper Canada viewed the problems as a struggle between the poor and the wealthy.

In 1834 Papineau and his followers prepared 92 resolutions as a protest against the government. The Patriotes wanted a more democratic form of government that would respect the cultural sovereignty of the French in Lower Canada. They wanted a say in the running of Lower Canada. At this time, Lower Canada and Upper Canada were actually separate colonies. The Patriotes wanted Lower Canada to remain separate.

The Rebellion Began In 1837. By the year 1837 French rebel forces were gathering. Patriotes calling themselves Sons of Liberty went from town to town calling on all of the people to join with them in open rebellion against the British. Arms and ammunition were stored at St. Denis, St. Charles and St. Eustache. On November 22 the Patriotes met a British force and defeated them. A few days later the British forces attacked the Patriotes at St. Charles. This time the Patriotes were defeated. Seventy Patriotes were killed compared to twenty one British troops.

The Kanienkehaka were not interested in this latest conflict between the French and English. Many of the injustices that were being done against the French were also being done against the Kanienkehaka. The Kanienkehaka along the St. Lawrence were closer to the French in these days than they were to the English. The second language of the Kanienkehaka during this part of the nineteenth century was more likely to be French than English. The missionaries who served the Kanienkehaka were usually French speaking. The farmers and traders that the Kanienkehaka had dealings with were French, as were the voyageurs who the Mohawk men worked with.

The Kanienkehaka Agreed To Help In The Defense Of Lachine. The Kanienkehaka would only become involved if the Patriotes proposed to attack Kahnawake or Kanesatake, or to invade the territory near these settlements. In December of 1837 news reached Montreal that the Patriotes were on their way to Lachine to seize arms and ammunition that were stored there. Many of these stores belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company that Kahnawake men worked for.

A defense force was immediately called together in Montreal. The Kahnawake warriors were asked to join in the defense and they agreed. A man who was present when the Kanienkehaka arrived described the scene:

> What a cheering sight it was there. The river was literally covered with Indian canoes every warrior in Caughnawaga was crossing to join the Lachine Brigade. A cheer of welcome from the little band of volunteers greeted the arrival of the Indian warriors, and their wild war whoop in response was a sound, a sight and a scene the like of which will never be heard or seen again in this province.[1]

Despite this pageantry and spectacle, the Lachine Brigade never had to fight. The alarm was a false one and the Patriotes never attacked Lachine.

2. The Patriote Invasion of Kahnawake

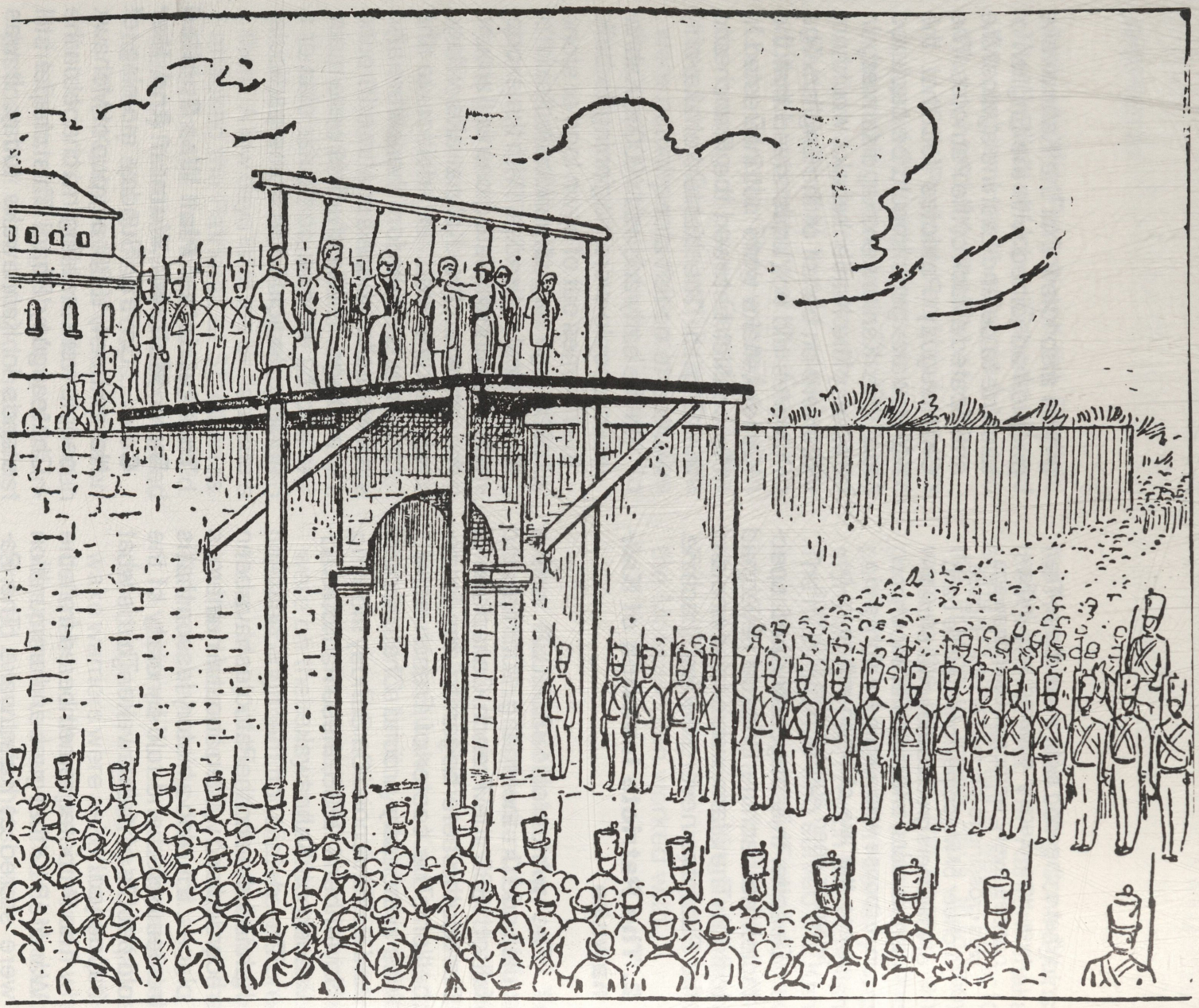
The winter of 1837-1838 was a quiet one. In the spring, summer and fall of 1838 the French Canadians of the south shore began to arm for rebellion. The center of French activity was principally around Chateauguay and Beauharnois. On Sunday morning, November 4, 1838, these Patriotes advanced on Kahnawake.

The details of the fight between Kahnawake and the Patriotes have been recorded and written about in numerous places. It is also a history lesson that is remembered and told by many of the old people of Kahnawake. This is what happened.

The Patriotes remembered from the War of 1812 that guns and ammunition were stored at Kahnawake. The Patriotes also knew that the Kahnawake people had joined with the English of Lachine to defend Lachine against the anticipated attack of the Patriotes. The Chateauguay Patriotes felt that the Kahnawake guns should be captured and the Kanienkehaka disarmed. In this way the Kanienkehaka would not interfere on behalf of the English. The Patriotes did not understand that the Kanienkehaka were not interested in the conflict between the French and the English. The Kanienkehaka only wanted to be left alone.

In the early and mid 1800's, Kahnawake people were beginning to build their homes out of hewn logs or stone. The village had expanded outside of the original palisades. With the exception of the incomplete stone wall around the church, the Kahnawake village was undefended. In addition to the main church in the fort, there were also a few smaller chapels scattered around the village. These chapels were maintained by either a particular clan or a society dedicated to some particular saint.

The Patriotes' Plan Was Spoiled By A Mohawk Woman And Her Cow. On the Sunday morning of November 4, 1838, a group of Mohawk people were meeting in a chapel on the Chateauguay Road. This chapel still stands in Kahnawake today. It was



Execution of the Patriotes

dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The Patriotes from Chateauguay intended to surround the chapel and capture all of the men meeting inside. The Patriotes were planning to hold these men hostage to exchange for the guns and ammunition in Kahnawake.

The Patriotes would have been successful except for an old Mohawk woman. This woman was walking down the road to Chateauguay looking for a lost cow. She happened to see the Patriotes approaching, armed as if for an attack. There were sixty four Patriotes in all. She rushed back to the chapel and warned all of the men who had assembled there.

The Patriotes were armed with sticks and pikes and clubs. The Kahnawake men had muskets. The warriors left the church and set up an ambush by the front of the church entrance. When the force of forty Kahnawake men had surrounded the French, the Patriotes immediately surrendered. Eleven others were captured later on in the day.

The Patriotes claimed to be coming in friendship. The chiefs from Kahnawake asked why friends came armed to kill. The Kahnawake men took the Patriotes prisoner, bound them with cords and delivered them to a jail in Montreal. Most of the young Patriotes were sent to prison. Many were sent to penal farms in Bermuda, Australia or New Zealand. Others were sentenced to death.

When the people of Kahnawake learned that two of the prisoners taken by them were to be executed, their sympathies were aroused. They sent a touching letter to the English asking for the freedom of the unfortunate men:

> They did us no harm. They did not shed the blood of our brethren. Why shed theirs? The services which we rendered His Majesty and those which we will not hesitate to render in the future, give us the hope that our prayer will find its way to the heart of Your Excellency.[2]

But the petition did not find its way to hearts of the English. The prisoners suffered the extreme penalty of the law for a cause which has since been recognized as just. They were executed.

There were still more Patriotes in Chateauguay and they needed to be routed out. The Kahnawake men joined with the Lachine Brigade once again to attack Chateauguay. By the time the combined force of the Lachine Brigade arrived in Chateauguay the Patriotes had all fled. This infuriated the English from Lachine. They began burning homes, pillaging and attacking innocent people.

At first many people assumed that the Kanienkehaka had been guilty. They were willing to blame the Kanienkehaka for these acts, even before an investigation had been carried out. An investigation was finally called, and the blame

was properly set on the English from Lachine.

The British Wanted To Reward Kahnawake. Lord Glenleg, the British Colonial Secretary, learned of the assistance received from the Kahnawake people. He sent a letter to Lower Canada, asking how the British government could show its appreciation to the Kanienkehaka:

> It has occurred to me, that it might be satisfactory to the Indians of Caughnawaga who so gallantly defeated the rebels who collected at their village on the fourth of November last, as reported in your despatch of the day following, to know that their conduct on that occasion has been brought under the notice of the Queen and has met with Her Majesty's commendation. I have therefore to request that you will, if it would appear to you advisable, convey to them Her Majesty's approbation of their conduct in this instance. And I wish you to consider and report to me whether it might not be expedient in the case of annual distribution of presents to these Indians to substitute medals, or other honorary rewards to such as distinguished themselves in this transaction for the clothing, etc., usually given them; or whether in any other method their good conduct might be acknowledged in a public manner.[3]

Fr. Marcoux And Major Christie Misunderstood The Kanienkehaka. The priest at Kahnawake was asked what he thought of the idea of rewarding the Kanienkehaka. This was the same Fr. Marcoux who was earlier stationed at Akwesasne. Some thought was given to making the people of Kahnawake full British citizens with the right to vote. Both Fr. Marcoux and Major Christie, of the Indian Department, agreed that British citizenship would not be a suitable expression of thanks. Finally, a decision was made to build a school in Kahnawake.

Both Fr. Marcoux and Major Christie misunderstood the Kanienkehaka. It was not necessary to reward the Kanienkehaka for defending their own lands. By defending their land, the Kanienkehaka had not joined with the British against the French. They had simply been protecting the interests of the people of Kahnawake. Such a defense did not make the Kanienkehaka pro-British or anti-French. It simply showed that they were Kanienkehaka.

The attempts at rebellion in 1837-1838 by the French Canadians were not successful. The British came down hard on both the French and later native people in the next thirty years. The plan of uniting Lower and Upper Canada was approved, although not in its original format. Lord Durham was sent from England to Canada to effect this plan. The French soon found themselves losing even more of their rights and privileges. French hostility towards the English became more intense. The

French looked forward to another day when they would be able to throw off English rule, and declare themselves a free people with their own customs, language and form of government.

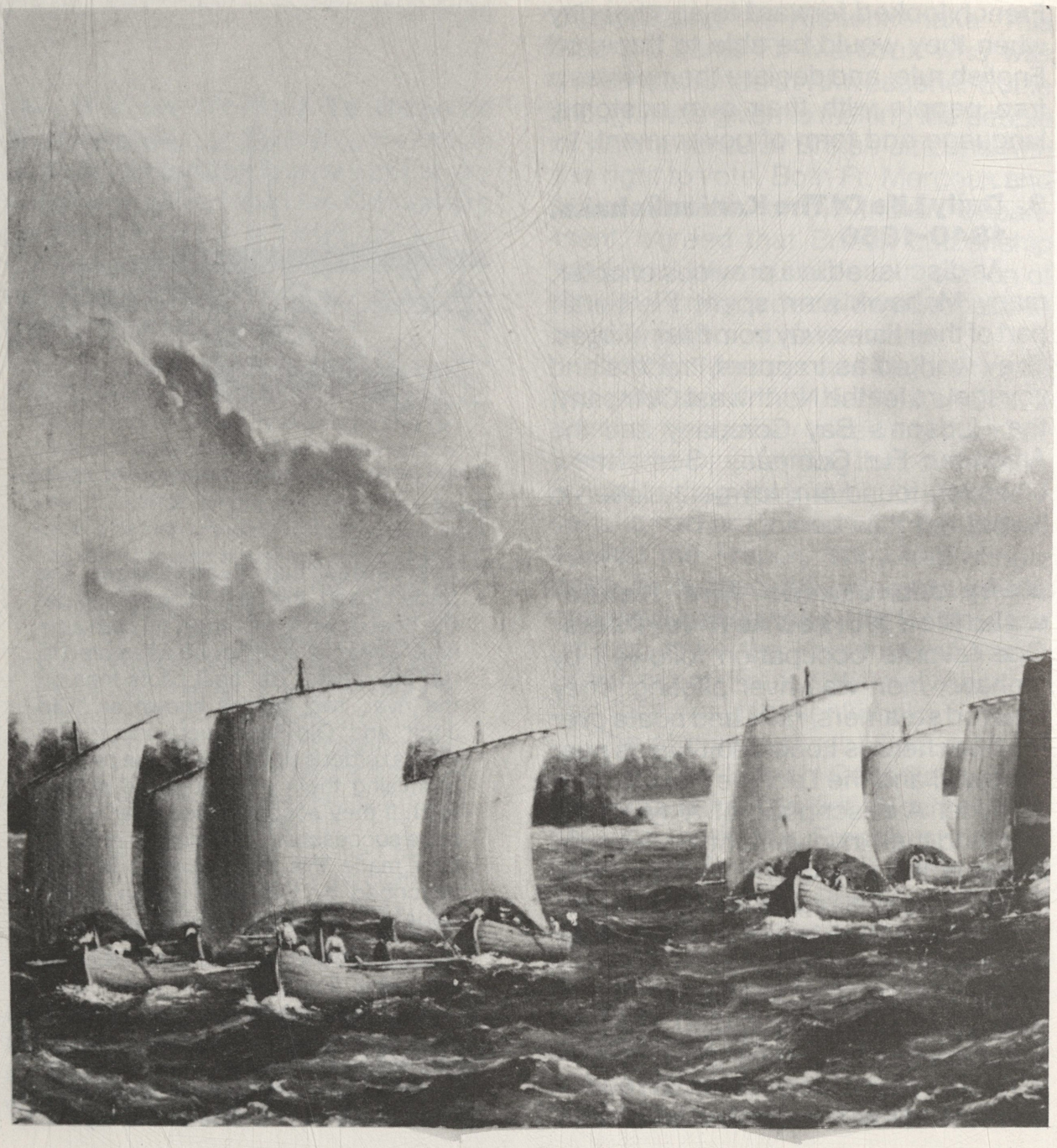
3. Daily Life Of The Kanienkehaka: 1840-1850

As discussed in a previous chapter, many Mohawk men spent the better part of their time away from their villages. They worked as trappers, traders and voyageurs for the Northwest Company, the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company. Some men, however, found employment closer to home.

A river barge of timber being taken over the Lachine Rapids

Many Akwesasne And Kahnawake Men Worked As River Pilots. One favorite occupation followed by Mohawk men was river piloting. They steered steamers, rafts and boats over the treacherous Long Sault rapids near Cornwall and the Lachine Rapids near Lachine. A description of Akwesasne men and their involvement in piloting is found in the book; The St. Lawrence River. In the passage quoted below the author describes the first ship to pass the rapids in the 1840's:

> The first large boat to attempt the passage of the river below here was the Ontario, built in Niagara about 1840. She proved to be very speedy, and was purchased by men at Montreal for a mail boat between that city and Quebec. The trade closed, the next thing was to get the boat down to Montreal, no craft anywhere near its size having attempted to run the rapids. The best pilots then on the river, two Indians known as "Old Jock" and "Old Pete," were secured for the hazardous undertaking, the owners promising them one thousand dollars each if they accomplished their enterprise successfully. The manner in which they made this initial voyage is best described by that old veteran of the Upper St. Lawrence, Captain Johnston:
>
> "First, a crib was made forty feet square, with pine floats ten feet apart, with stakes ten feet long driven in each square, projecting downward. When all was ready some Indians were sent to the foot of the rapids and some were stationed in the trees on the side of the rapids.



Mohawk River pilots

Several Indians towed the crib to the head of the rapids with their canoes and let go of it. Then every Indian watched the course it took as the crib sped on its way with the current of the stream. When it reached the foot of the rapids the crib was turned over, and it was found that none of the stakes were broken. That was a positive indication that there was water enough to run the Ontario through. The Indians then boarded the steamer. Each Indian piloted the Ontario as far as he had observed the crib's course. The only white man on board was the engineer, who also, I was told, received one thousand dollars. This story I got from "Old Jock," who used to pilot us, and who ran us through the La Chine Rapids nine times without mishap."

In this way, in 1843, was the first steamer taken down the rapids, and a descendant of one of these pioneer pilots now guides with a trusty hand the steamer of to-day that follows in the track of the Ontario. The next steamers to follow this course were the Canada and America, in 1858 or 1859, according to the authority above quoted. It is said that only one white man undertook to run the La Chine Rapids in those early days, and his name, was Roebuck.[4]

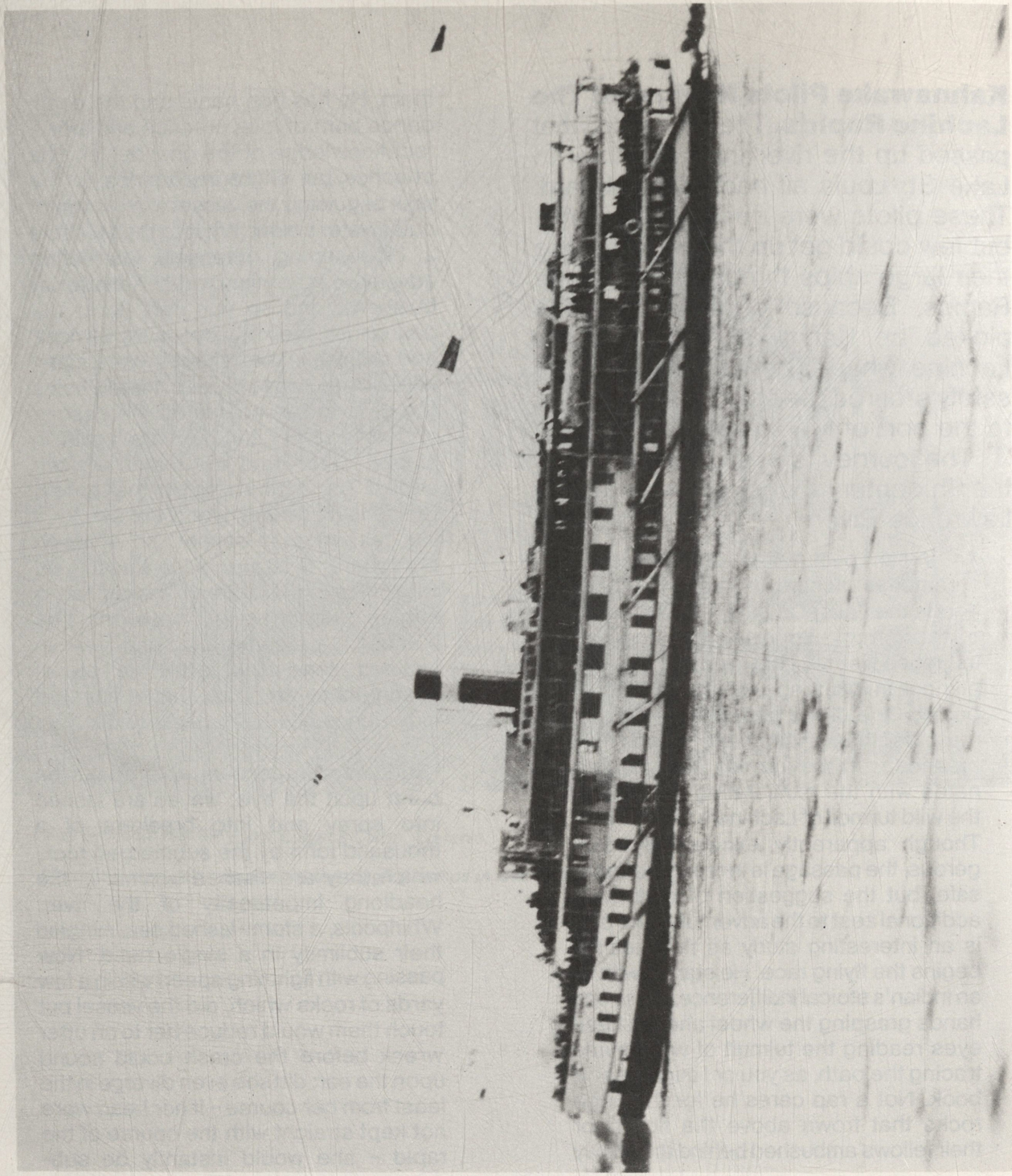
The office at the Elk Lake Logging Camp, Ontario.

Many Mohawk men worked in the logging camps in the 19th century.

Kahnawake Pilots Navigated The Lachine Rapids. The large ships that passed up the river from Montreal to Lake St. Louis all had pilots aboard. These pilots were good at their jobs, but few could get up the nerve to take their large ships through the Lachine Rapids. Because of this, the ships picked up Kahnawake men at the Lachine wharf. The Kahnawake pilots safely steered the ship over the rapids to the port of Montreal.

The journey is described in a nineteenth century tourist guide to the St. Lawrence River:

> An Indian pilot takes charge of the steamer at Lachine, in whose practised hands the vessel is safe from the wrath of the torrent. Soon the first powerful influence is felt of the current that plunges in foamy speed down the incline below. One of the best features of this route is that excitement steadily increases with the journey until it culminates with the exhilarating dash down the wild turmoil of Lachine's angry water. Though apparently exceedingly dangerous, the passage is in reality perfectly safe, but the suggestion of peril gives additional zest to the adventure. The pilot is an interesting study as the steamer begins the flying race. He stands with all an Indian's stoical indifference, his strong hands grasping the wheel and his keen eyes reading the tulmult of waters and tracing the path, as you or I might read a book. Not a rap cares he for the huge rocks that frown above the flood nor their fellows ambushed behind the snowy foam. He has iron nerve and the confidence born of long practice and a perfect knowledge of the channel, and he attaches but slight importance to the task of guiding the vessel to the calm of quiet water below. What to the tourist is a bloodstirring, intensely interesting adventure is to him merely a matter of business; and so you dart down the daring rush, feeling a joyous excitement, and wishing the "shoot" were many miles longer, while the pilot merely holds the boat to her course till the dash is ended, and he and you are again in smooth water and the rapids are left behind. The actual running of the Lachine rapids is alone well worth the trip, for a like experience cannot be enjoyed elsewhere; it is a popular amusement with citizens of Montreal. The sensation tingles through every nerve as one stands on a steamer pitching down an inclined plane of water at the rate of twenty miles an hour. This is how the experience has been described:
>
> "Suddenly a scene of wild confusion burst upon the eye; waves are lashed into spray and into breakers of a thousand form by the submerged rock, which they are dashed against in the headlong impetuosity of the river. Whirlpools, a storm-lashed sea, mingled their sublimity in a single rapid. Now passing with lightning speed within a few yards of rocks which, did the vessel but touch them would reduce her to an utter wreck before the crash could sound upon the ear; did she even diverge in the least from her course – if her head were not kept straight with the course of the rapid – she would instantly be sub-



merged and rolled over andover. Ere we can take a glance at the scene, the boat descends the walls of waves and foam like a bird, and a second afterwards you are floating on the calm unruffled bosom of the river below."

But though this trip is full of pleasant excitement, it is attended with practically no danger. An experienced Indian pilot, who knows each rock and almost every wave, has guided the steamers which make the "Shoot" for years, and no accident of any consequence has ever happened, nor has a single life been lost in this beautiful but dangerous spot.

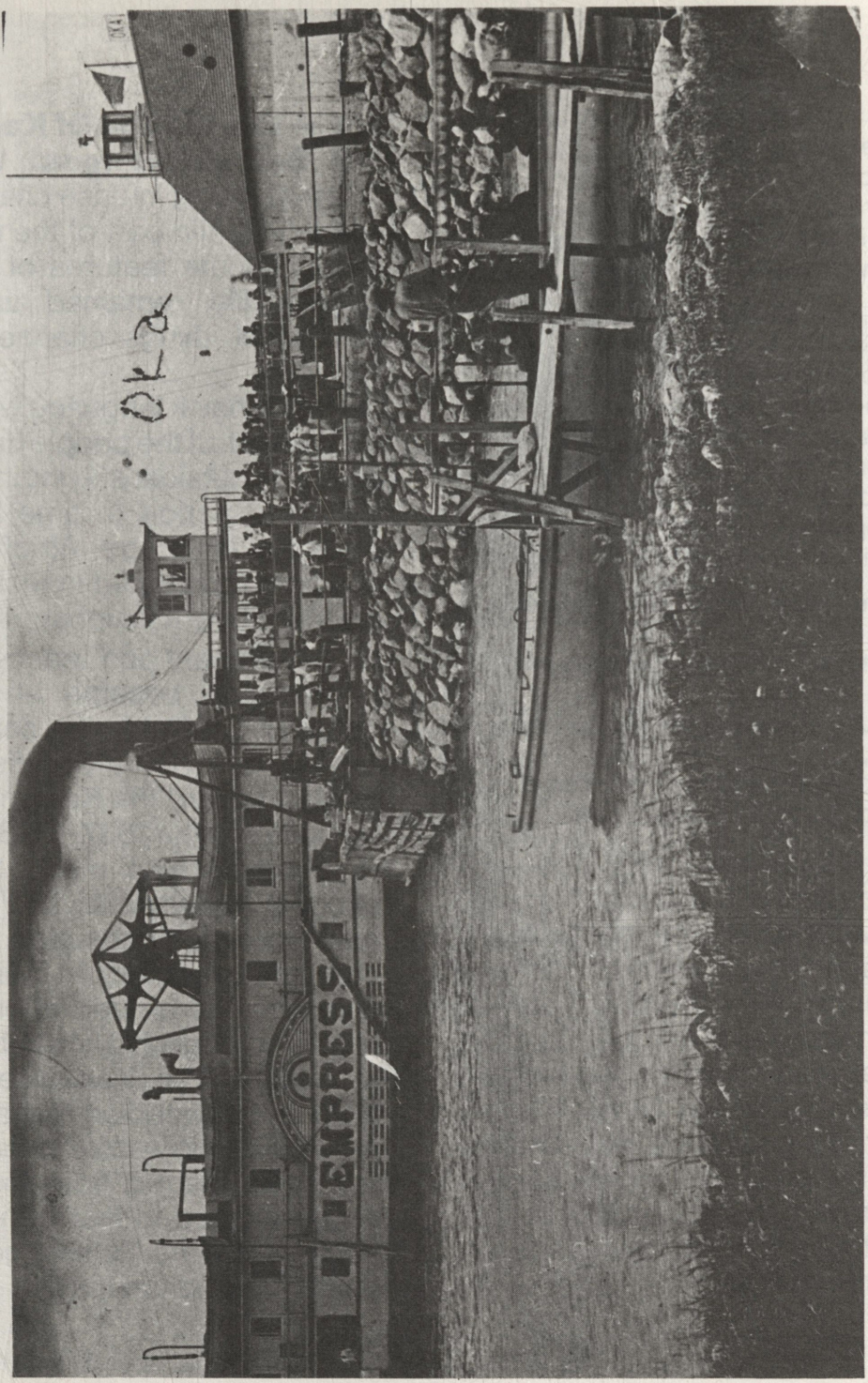
"And we have passed the terrible Lachine,
Have felt a fearless tremor through the soul
As the huge waves upreared their crests of green,
Holding our feathery bark in their control
As a strong eagle holds an oriole."[5]

Many Kahnawake men became famous as river pilots on the Lachine Rapids. Two that are remembered are Kahonwasene (Big John Canadian) and Kanatsiohare (John Patton). Some of these men worked the lower St. Lawrence, carrying mostly passengers over the Lachine Rapids. Others worked the upper St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers carrying freight, logging barges and other raw materials into the port of Montreal to be shipped overseas on large sailing vessels.

Life In The Village Of Kahnawake Felt Some Changes. Village life was undergoing intense change during the early to mid part of the nineteenth century. Some features of traditional Mohawk life remained unchanged, while other things changed a great deal.

The Mohawk language was the first language of all the people during these years. Any outsider staying in the village for a long period of time learned to speak the language. All official business was transacted in Mohawk. This was true of the missionaries, agents of the government and teachers.

Language became an important source of conflict in the community in the 1840's. When the British had decided to reward the Kanienkehaka for their action in the 1837-1838 Rebellion, the decision was made to build a school in Kahnawake. The Kanienkehaka were not consulted about the school before hand. Fr. Marcoux and Major Christie argued about whether French or English should be used in the school. The Kanienkehaka preferred and insisted on Mohawk. If anyone in the village wanted to learn French, they could learn it from the priest. If anyone wanted to learn English, they could go to the British government agent in the community.


EMPRESS

One feature of Mohawk culture remained constant in Kahnawake, Akwesasne and Kanesatake. The men continued to work at jobs away from the communities, and the job of running the affairs of the village was left to the women. Farming was not practised in Kahnawake on any large scale. Most of the farms were small garden plots yielding just enough produce to feed the family. Some additional money was made from selling maple sugar. For the most part farm produce was not sold for cash.

Families continued to live in large groups of extended families. Both the British and the French considered this custom a primitive one. They encouraged the Kanienkehaka to abandon this in favor of living in small houses with just the nuclear family. Although Mohawk people did not immediately give up the old tradition of the extended family, this change did begin to occur in the mid nineteenth century.

When families broke up in this fashion, usually a newly married couple built a house near the house of one of their parents. The people of Kahnawake thus retained the practice of living in a tightly packed village. The large areas of outer lands were used for farming and hunting.

Traditionally the Kanienkehaka had no concept of private ownership of land. The land belonged to the Mohawk Nation. If a woman wanted to farm a particular piece of land, she would prepare the land with the help of her family and friends, plant the crop, take care of it and harvest it. A portion of the crop was shared with all of those who helped with the work. Kahnawake was a village surrounded by some farmlands, sugar bushes and hunting lands. When a family stopped farming a particular piece of land, the land was allowed to rest for a few years. Then the same family could return to it or a new family planted there. If any disputes arose about land, they would be solved in the general council of the people. This council met every Sunday morning in the field in front of the Catholic Church. The British claimed that the Kanienkehaka did not know how to manage land. It is true that Mohawk people did not manage lands in the British way, but they certainly knew how to manage lands according to their own traditions.

Kahnawake was different from Akwesasne in many respects. One major difference between the two communities was that the men of Akwesasne became much more involved in agriculture than the men of Kahnawake did. Kahnawake was a village where most of the people lived in homes in the village and farmed lands surrounding it. In this respect the Kahnawake settlement pattern was much more traditional than Akwesasne. The Akwesasne

Farming in Kahnawake

people lived on scattered farms around the settlement of Akwesasne, on Cornwall Island, along the Salmon River, on the Raquette River, on St. Regis Island as well as in St. Regis village. The settlement pattern of Akwesasne was much like that of the Six Nations reserve and Kanesatake, all of whom were more involved in large scale farming.

4. The Kahnawake Council's Demand For The Return Of Rented Lands

The Kanienkehaka have a tradition of being a proud and independent people. It is difficult for a people to be proud if they are not independent. If a people rely upon some other government and culture to provide them with what they need, then they will soon be reduced to a welfare state. In order to provide a people with all their needs and keep up with a rapidly changing world, it is necessary to have the lands and resources to supply these needs. From the time of the British take over of Montreal, the Kanienkehaka had always remembered the true extent of their borders. They knew that both the French and the English governments had recognized these true borders. For years the Kanienkehaka rented out lands to French farmers on the eastern border of the Kahnawake settlement. They used the rent money for repairs to public buildings in Kahnawake, for care of the poor and for other public concerns.

The population of Kahnawake started to increase in the middle 1800's. The people of Kahnawake decided that they needed the return of their eastern land for this expanding population. Consequently, the Kahnawake council informed the British that they wanted their land back instead of receiving further rents. They recalled past decisions including the Gage Concession. They reminded the British of promises made by officials of the British government for the restoration of their lands.

The land in question had long ago been sold by the Jesuits, even though it was Kahnawake land. The British started an investigation but came up with nothing to support the claims of the Kanienkehaka. Fr. Marcoux became involved and helped the people put together their case. Fr. Marcoux believed that the Kanienkehaka could receive justice at the hands of the British authorities. He soon learned differently as did the Kanienkehaka.

Unfortunately, things were to get worse between the Kanienkehaka and the government of Canada before they were to get better. As the nineteenth century reached its mid peak in 1850, plans were underway for the creation of an Indian Act. This would be a law to

help "civilize" the Kanienkehaka and the other native nations of Canada. It was only through such a law, the British realized, that non-native people could ever gain complete control over the little remaining lands in the possession of native people.

Fr. Marcoux, a Catholic missionary priest to the Kanienkehaka

Fr. Marcoux

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Chapter 21

The Birth Of Two New Occupations

The nineteenth century was a time of rapid growth for both Canada and the United States. Both countries had problems that beset them in these years. These problems threatened to tear the countries apart. By 1850 the threat of rebellion in Canada had been overcome, but the divisions in the United States were just beginning to develop. In 1865 the United States found itself embroiled in a major civil war.

After the rebellions in Canada and the joining of Upper and Lower Canada into a single colonial government, the British felt ready to push their program of westward expansion to its limit. The government set about establishing treaties with the various native nations, encouraging them, forcing them or tricking them into signing away most of their lands. This opened the west to European settlement. The British felt that a railroad was needed to hold the country together and provide a fast and efficient transportation system to Canada's major port at Montreal. It was during this time that the Kanienkehaka were introduced to two new occupations.

This chapter discusses:

1. The First Mohawk Ironworkers
2. The Mohawk Entertainers

1. The First Mohawk Ironworkers

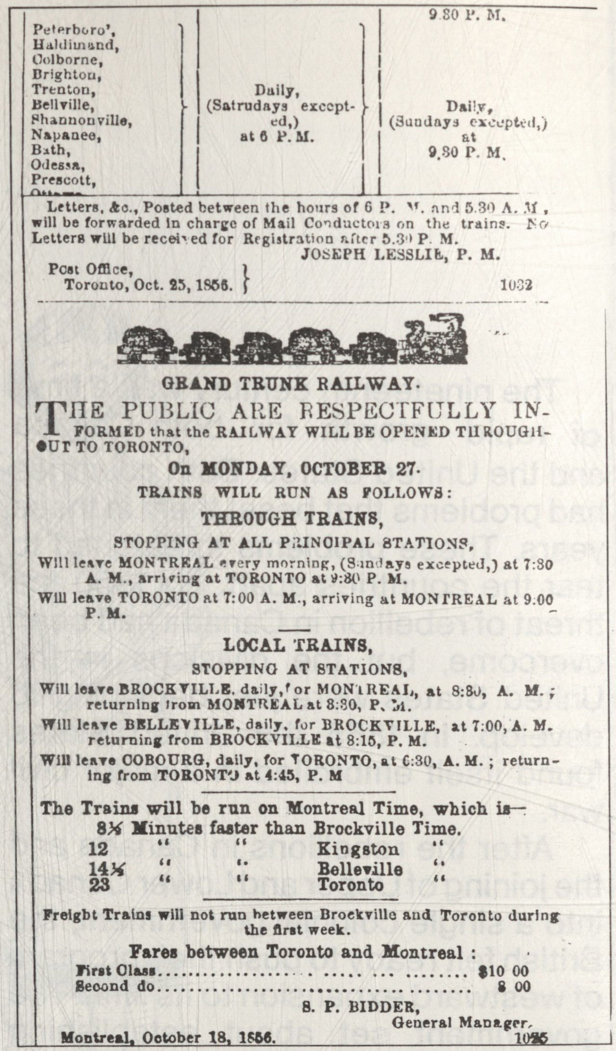
During the 1900's a number of railway companies were formed in Canada. At first there were a lot of small lines, such as the Lake St. Louis and Province Line Railway that went from Kahnawake to Moores Corner, New York. These small lines were soon bought out or forced out of business by the large rail companies such as the Grand Trunk Railway or later on the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways.

In order to understand how this could happen, one must understand capitalism, the kind of economy that both Canada and the United States follow. In a capitalist system there is free enterprise. In free enterprise all companies compete against one another. The company that competes the best wins the business.

Two Railways Competed For Business. The St. Louis and Province Line Railway competed against the Grand Trunk Railway. Both of these companies had a line that went from the St. Lawrence River to New York. It cost both railways about ten dollars a ton to ship wood from the St. Lawrence to New York. In order to make a profit the railways added on another dollar per ton. People preferred to use the company that had the best prices, just as they do today.

The people who owned the Grand Trunk Railway had a great deal of money. In order to make greater profits, The Grand Trunk Railway wanted to buy the Lake St. Louis and Province Line Railway. This company did not want to sell, so the Grand Trunk Railway forced them out of business.

How did they do this? The Grand Trunk Railway simply reduced its rates of shipping from the St. Lawrence to New York from eleven dollars a ton to ten dollars a ton. This meant that they made no money on the deal. However, because of the cheaper rates all of the people soon used the services of only the Grand Trunk Railway. Without any business, the Lake St. Louis and Province Line Railway was forced to close down or sell out to the Grand Trunk Railway.



Peterboro', Haldimand, Colborne, Brighton, Trenton, Bellville, Shannonville, Napanee, Bath, Odessa, Prescott,	Daily, (Satrudays excepted,) at 6 P. M.	9.30 P. M. Daily, (Sundays excepted,) at 9.30 P. M.

Letters, &c., Posted between the hours of 6 P. M. and 5.30 A. M., will be forwarded in charge of Mail Conductors on the trains. No Letters will be received for Registration after 5.30 P. M.

JOSEPH LESSLIE, P. M.

Post Office, Toronto, Oct. 25, 1856. 1032

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY.

THE PUBLIC ARE RESPECTFULLY INFORMED that the RAILWAY WILL BE OPENED THROUGHOUT TO TORONTO,

On MONDAY, OCTOBER 27.

TRAINS WILL RUN AS FOLLOWS:

THROUGH TRAINS,

STOPPING AT ALL PRINCIPAL STATIONS,

Will leave MONTREAL every morning, (Sundays excepted,) at 7:30 A. M., arriving at TORONTO at 9:30 P. M.

Will leave TORONTO at 7:00 A. M., arriving at MONTREAL at 9:00 P. M.

LOCAL TRAINS,

STOPPING AT STATIONS,

Will leave BROCKVILLE, daily, for MONTREAL, at 8:30, A. M.; returning from MONTREAL at 3:30, P. M.

Will leave BELLEVILLE, daily, for BROCKVILLE, at 7:00, A. M. returning from BROCKVILLE at 3:15, P. M.

Will leave COBOURG, daily, for TORONTO, at 6:30, A. M.; returning from TORONTO at 4:45, P. M

The Trains will be run on Montreal Time, which is—
8½ Minutes faster than Brockville Time.
12 " " Kingston "
14½ " " Belleville "
23 " " Toronto "

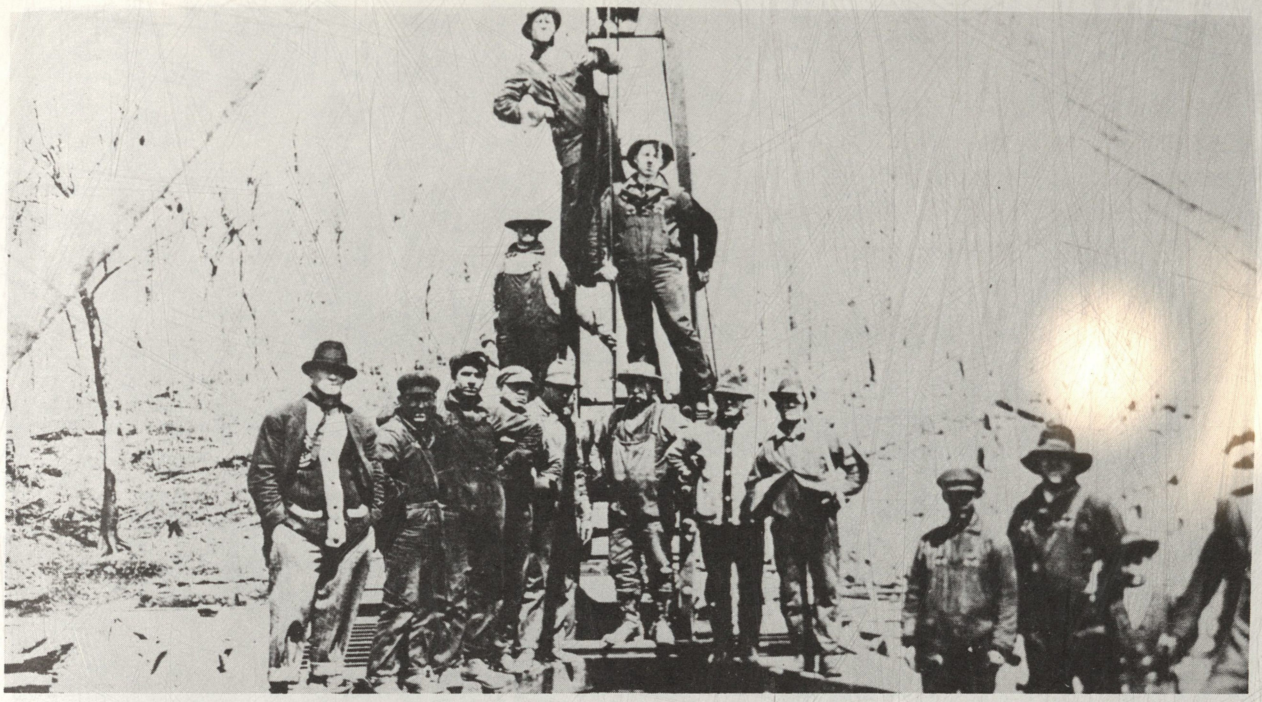
Freight Trains will not run between Brockville and Toronto during the first week.

Fares between Toronto and Montreal:
First Class..... $10 00
Second do..... 8 00

S. P. BIDDER,
General Manager.

Montreal, October 18, 1856. 1025

Grand Trunk Railway Advertisement



19th Century Mohawk Bridgemen

The Grand Trunk Railway Won Out. This took a few years, but eventually it happened. The Grand Trunk Railway was able to hold out much longer than the small Lake St. Louis and Province Line Railway. When the small company finally went out of business, the Grand Trunk Railway had no competition. The Grand Trunk Railway was then free to raise the rates beyond the ten and eleven dollars per ton price to twenty dollars per ton. The people had no other choice and so were forced to pay these high prices.

Railroads expanded at an incredible rate in the nineteenth century. The Grand Trunk line was one of the largest. One of the Grand Trunk Railway's biggest problems was getting trains from the island of Montreal to the south shore, and from the south shore to the United States. The St. Lawrence River was so huge that all travel across it had to be done by boats, such as the ferries and steamers piloted by Kahnawake men.

The Grand Trunk Railway Decided To Build The Victoria Bridge. In the 1850's the Grand Trunk Railway decided to build a bridge across the St. Lawrence River at Montreal. They hired a British engineer by the name of James Hodges to supervise the project. Hodges arrived in North America and immediately set out to work.

The plans for construction of the

Mohawk Quarrymen

bridge were impressive and costly. Once the plans were finalized, Hodges set out to locate suitable building materials to use on his bridge. The bridge was to be a tubular bridge, a long wooden structure on steel and wooden beams resting on stone pilings set deep into the river bed. Stone and timber had to be located and a means of bringing it to the bridge construction site was required.

One of Hodges's assistants suggested to him that Kahnawake was a good source for stone. There was a small quarry in the village at the time. Hodges decided to visit Kahnawake and talk to the chiefs. He recorded his visit in a description of the bridge that he published later:

> After having inspected several quarries, a visit was paid to Caughnawaga where very fine stone was found. The lands from which it was obtainable were however in possession of the Indians and it became necessary to treat with the chiefs of the tribe who held its possession.
>
> After considerable delay and difficulty, an appointment was made with them for an interview. It was fixed to take place on a Sunday, after church, that being the only time when a number of them could be brought together sufficient for the transaction of such important business.
>
> At the appointed time, accompanied by an interpreter, I was ushered into the presence of the assembled chiefs. To the number of twelve or thirteen they

19th Century Mohawk Construction Workers

were waiting my arrival in a wooden shanty. After so much pomp and ceremony as had been expended on preliminaries, I certainly expected to have met chiefs ornamented after the manner of those in Cooper's novel with paint and feathers and prepared before they proceded to council, to offer me the Calumet of peace.

At first the chiefs exhibited a great hesitation to treat. I endeavored to discover the obstacle and found that they considered my youth a serious disadvantage. Upon assuring them however through an interpreter that I was no less than forty and by pointing out the grey hairs with which time had adorned me I managed to persuade them that I was worthy of the honor of their respect. Preliminaries thus over the other arrangements were easy, more so as the terms proposed were liberal. The treaty was adjusted and after shaking hands all around, the meeting was dissolved, all parties were satisfied.

Half an hour after this interview I found myself with one of the chiefs in a canoe, paddling off to a mail packet in which I was to return to Montreal. The chief, although at the interview exceedingly taciturn and apparently quite ignorant of English, was now sufficiently garrulous and evidently a fluent speaker of the language. He was a pilot for the Rapids of Lachine which the steamer was about to shoot. [1]

Kahnawake Men Transported Stone And Timber To The Bridge.

The construction of the Grand Trunk

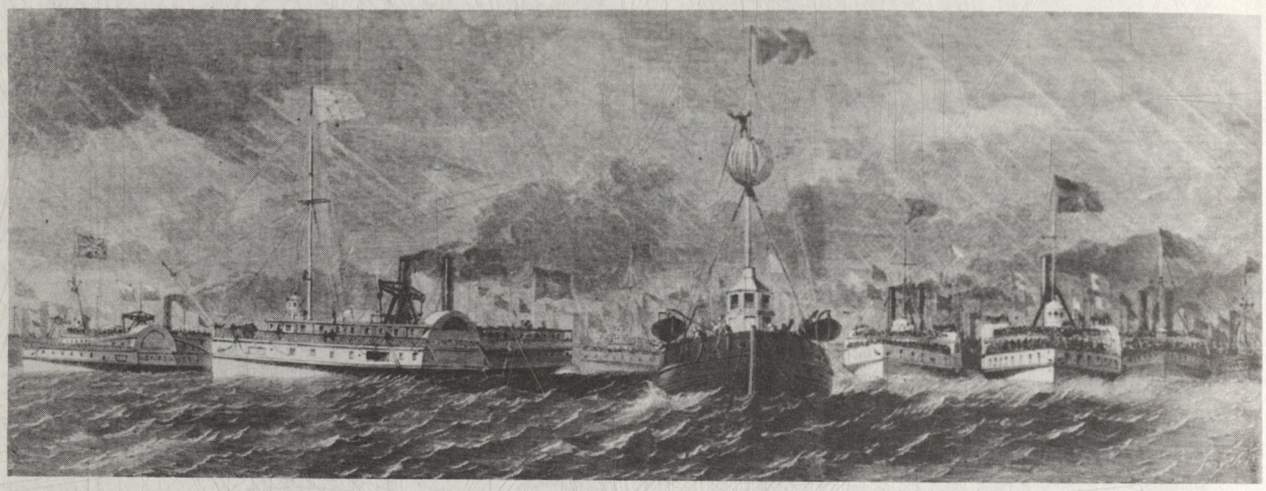
Railway posed some problems for the people of Kahnawake. They were willing to sell stone to the Grand Trunk Railway and the village would make a small profit. Kahnawake men would transport both the stone from their quarries and timber and stone from other quarries to the bridge site. This created work for the people. However, once the bridge was completed quite a few of Kahnawake men would be out of work. With the railways operating from the New York border right into Montreal, there would be less need for river pilots.

Construction went on as scheduled. The stone was cut from the Kahnawake quarries and delivered on large barges to the bridge. According to the oral history of the Kahnawake people, what occured at the site influenced the life of the people for a long time to come. An elderly Mohawk man recounted the story of the Victoria Bridge construction as it was told to him by his grandfather, who was a river pilot delivering stone at the time:

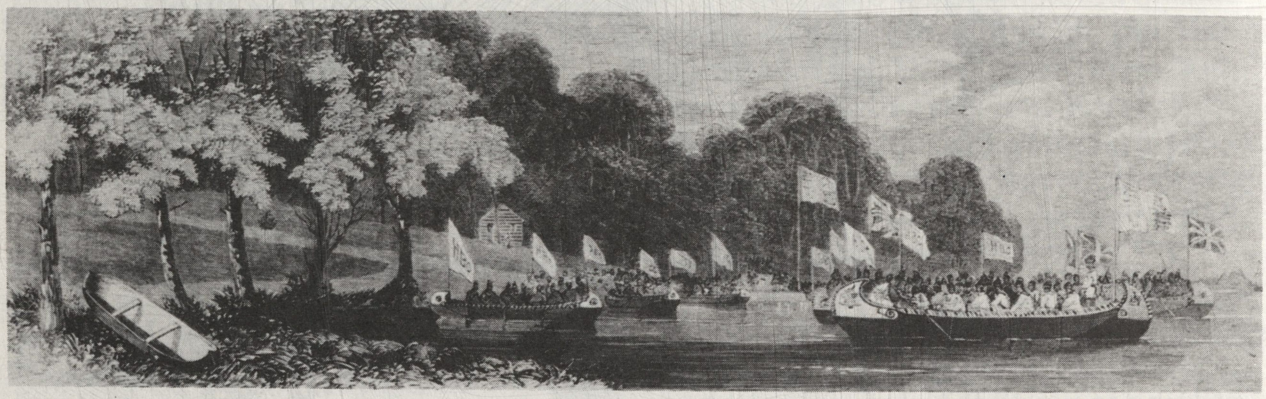
> Back in those days, we Indians used to work quite a bit on the river; delivering big boats to Montreal and all that. Well, when they was building this Victoria Bridge, not the one there now, the old one; Mohawk men got work delivering stone to the masons and engineers.
>
> Mohawks love to build things. So when the people from town were watching the bridge get built, well some of the younger men just climbed up to take a look at how it was done. Well don't you know that the Frenchmen they had working up there was so scared, they had to hold onto everything they could so as not to fall off. That old engineer wasn't getting anything done with so many scared Frenchmen working for him. Course, the guys from town wasn't scared. They just walked along the support beams, looking the job over and making note as to how it was all done. The engineer saw this so he wanted to hire a Indian fella, but there was a problem. The Indian could only speak Mohawk. So the engineer had to hire a whole crew of Indians so that they would all understand one another. Every crew had about five guys who could speak only Mohawk, and a foreman who spoke Mohawk and English or French. This is how we got into the construction business. [2]

Kahnawake Ironworkers Were In Demand. The Grand Trunk Railway's Victoria Bridge was completed on time, partly due to the labors of the Kahnawake men. Soon, men from Kahnawake, Akwesasne and Kanesatake were in high demand as construction workers, particularly high construction workers, on railway bridges across Quebec and Ontario.

Euro-Americans think that the reason that Mohawk men make such good high construction workers is because they are not afraid of heights. This is not the case, as most young Kanienkehaka know. An ironworker



The arrival of the Prince of Wales to dedicate the Victoria Bridge



Canoe Reception given to Prince of Wales by the Mohawk

recently put it best when he said:

> A good ironworker is afraid of high places. I don't want to work with no fool whose not a little bit afraid of being up so high. Its the fear that gives you the edge, that keeps you alert. If you weren't afraid, at least a little, then you wouldn't have that edge. No, a Mohawk is afraid of heights just like the next guy. The difference is, the Mohawk is willing to deal with it. [3]

2. The Mohawk Entertainers

The Grand Trunk Railway's Victoria Bridge was completed in 1860. In August of 1860, the Prince of Wales visited Montreal for the opening ceremonies. The ceremonies lasted a week. They included dinners, speeches, entertainments as well as the actual bridge opening ceremony.

Included in the Prince of Wales' visit was a reception arranged by Sir George Simpson, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The reception was held at Simpson's home in Dorval. Seventy Six men from Kahnawake crossed the lake dressed in feathers and war paint. Paddling ten huge birch bark canoes, they performed maneuvers of water skills that dazzled the audience:

> When the barge carrying the prince and his suite pushed off from Lachine, the flotilla of canoes darted out abreast to meet it, keeping time to the cadence of a boatman's song. The line opened in the middle, as if to let the royal barge pass, but suddenly wheeling around formed abreast again, with the prince in the centre, and thus proceeded to the landing-place at Dorval. Towards evening, Sir George Simpson, an expert with canoe and paddle, directed the Indians and voyageurs in the execution of another series of movements on the water. Then the flotilla carrying the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Lyons, the Earl of Mulgrave, General Bruce, and the rest of the distinguished visitors, crossed over Lake St. Louis to Caughnawaga, and after passing along the entire length of the village bank, where the Indian population were lined up to cheer the royal procession, returned to Lachine. The day's spectacle was impressive enough to merit an illustration in the London Illustrated News, published in 1860. [4]

The Kanienkehaka Began To Tour Europe. The 1860's were an age when people in Europe were becoming fascinated by the stories of native people that drifted across the Atlantic in popular novels and folklore. Audiences were eager to see spectacles about native people in any form in which they could be provided.

In 1867 a Universal Exposition was held in Paris. The Universal Exposition was one of the first world fairs. In 1866 an agent of the Canadian government visited Kahnawake while recruiting

Exhibition lacrosse match between Kahnawake and the Montreal Shamrocks

support for the Canadian pavillion at the Exposition. The people were asked to participate in the Exposition by sending two artists to demonstrate their craftsmanship. The Kanienkehaka agreed. A pattern was set whereby Mohawk men and women began traveling to parts of Europe and across North America to exhibit their wares and perform traditional games of lacrosse and water sports.

In 1868 fifteen Kanienkehaka traveled to London and other European capitals to give exhibitions of lacrosse and Mohawk dancing. Eight years later, in 1876 another group of fifteen traveled to Europe.

> They exhibited their skill in the presence of enthusiastic thousands, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and before they returned home they had the honor of playing lacrosse in the couryard of Windsor Castle, with Queen Victoria as an interested spectator. At the end of the game, they read an address to Her Majesty and presented a handsome basket made of birch bark. The queen graciously thanked them for the gift and gave each of the players a signed portrait of herself, and then, to crown a perfect day, regaled them with a sumptuous supper. [5]

The Europeans Stereotyped Native People. The exhibitions that the people put on in Europe were authentic demonstrations of Mohawk dance, sport and arts. The audiences in Europe had stereotypes of native people. They thought that all native people wore large feather headresses, were semi-civilized and dangerous. European audiences expected to see native people who conformed to their stereotype.

What is a stereotype? A stereotype is an idea that a person has about how another person will act, look and be, according to some single model. When somebody says that "all white people are the same, so he must be the same because he is white", or when somebody remarks that "all black people are...", this is stereotyping. Stereotypes can be either negative or positive. For example a positive stereotype is when somebody says "all Mohawks are strong" or "all Jewish people are smart". A negative stereotype is when somebody says something like, "all black people are lazy" or "all Indians are dumb".

It is true that some Kanienkehaka are strong, some Jewish people are smart. But there are also some Kanienkehaka who are weak and some Jewish people who are not intelligent. Every culture is made up of individuals and all individuals are different. Many groups of people have been hurt by stereotypes. This includes native people.

The Mohawk and the Entertainment Industry. These entertainers, the Deer Family, were from Akwesasne.

The Mohawk Entertainers Performed Like Plains Indians. In the nineteenth century the Europeans had a certain stereotype of native people. When the Kanienkehaka traveled across Europe as entertainers, they soon learned that Europeans wanted to see a certain kind of show. They expected native people to look a certain way and to sing a certain kind of song and to wear a certain kind of clothing. These looks, songs and clothes were all typical of the styles of the native peoples of the plains.

In 1883 Buffalo Bill Cody organized the first Wild West Show. Cody's show was called the Buffalo Bill Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders. It included an exhibition of fancy shooting, a buffalo hunt, a capture of the Deadwood stagecoach, cowboys, Indians and the famous woman sharp shooter, Annie Oakley.

Soon Cody had competition from Pawnee Bill's Wild West Show and the Miller Brother's 101 Ranch Real Wild West Show. Another competitor was Texas Jack's Wild West Show. Texas Jack's show was made up primarily of Kanienkehaka from Akwesasne and Kahnawake.

European audiences wanted to see Plains Indian shows, not traditional Mohawk dance and sport. The Kanienkehaka were involved in the entertainment business as a way of making a living and they gave the audiences what they wanted. Soon, the women of Kahnawake and Akwesasne were making costumes of leather decorated with the beaded designs of the Sioux. Men from Kahnawake and Akwesasne became skilled at horsemanship and put on dazzling displays of trick riding.

Jim Running Deer Was Called The Last Hereditary Chief Of The Iroquois. One of the most famous Mohawk entertainer families came from Akwesasne, the family of Jim "Running Deer". Together with two of his brothers, Running Deer traveled throughout the United States and Europe with the Texas Jack show. The Deer brothers were expert horsemen. These skilled trick riders used to mount and jump from galloping horses while chasing stagecoaches or being pursued by the calvary.

Running Deer called himself the "last hereditary chief of the Iroquois". He was neither a hereditary chief nor the last of the Iroquois. This was simply a way of making his billing more mysterious and attractive. Many of the native women who worked the Wild West Show circuits called themselves "princess". This too was a way of capturing the imagination of European audiences. Both titles, hereditary chief and princess, were things that Europeans could relate to.

The Deer brothers, stunt horsemen from Akwesasne.

The Entertainment Business Involved The Whole Family. Buffalo Bill's show closed in 1916. The very last Wild West Show was put on in 1938, although the decline could be seen coming as early as 1900. When the shows stopped, however, the Kanienkehaka did not cease performing.

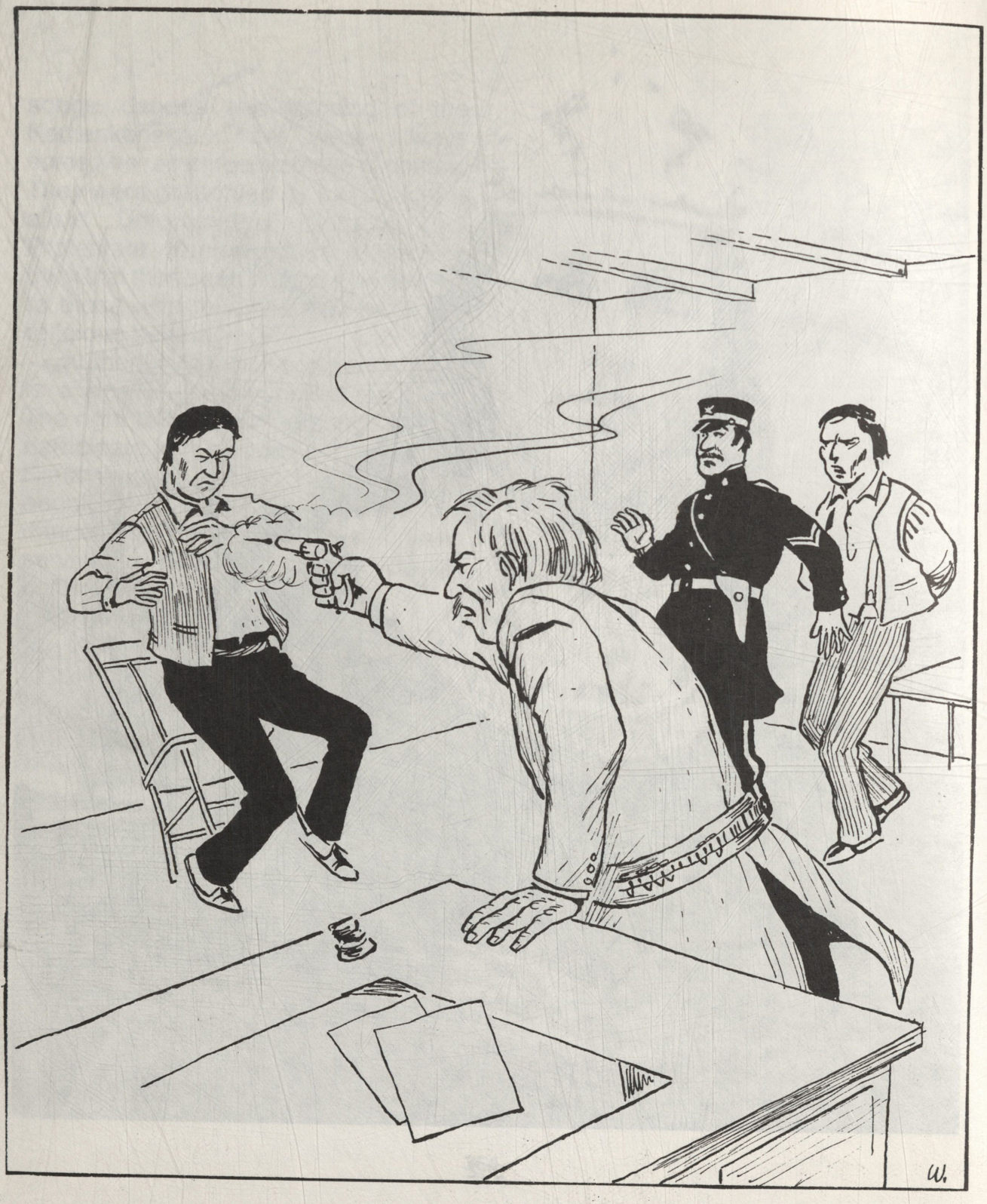
Kahnawake and Akwesasne entertainers became involved in stage shows and exhibitions. Such acts as lifting two tables by the teeth, juggling, and doing interpretations of modern dance were shown on the stages of Europe and the United States. Mohawk men and women were some of the earliest contributors to the emerging stage shows of Vaudeville and Broadway.

The entertainment business involved the whole family. The children and women also took part in the shows. When not performing, they made and sold souvenirs of beaded pin cushions and toys to tourists and audiences. These small items brought in additional money to support the family.

The Kanienkehaka Began To Believe That The Plains Indian Culture Was Traditionally Mohawk. One of the negative effects of the entertainment business was that Mohawk people started to believe that the show songs, dances, and costumes were part of traditional Mohawk culture. Soon, people began to forget the

songs, dances and clothing of the Kanienkehaka. There were always some who remembered these of course. They were preserved by the traditionalists. Unfortunately, Catholic and Protestant Kanienkehaka began to think that these traditions only belonged to those who followed the traditional religious beliefs.

Authentic Mohawk song and dance is a beautiful and ancient tradition. The right to learn these songs and to participate in the social dances of the Kanienkehaka belong to all Mohawk people. Without their own songs and dances, how can the Kanienkehaka survive as a distinct and sovereign culture?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Chapter 22

Plans To Assimilate Native People

During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, the French, British and the Americans treated the Kanienkehaka and other Iroquoian nations as their equals. During this time these Euro-American nations needed the support of the Six Nations in the conflicts and wars which the Euro-Americans had with one another. After the War of 1812 the Euro-American nations stopped treating the Six Nations as equals. They began to treat the Six Nations as if they were conquered nations. Why did they do this?

By this time Britain had defeated France in Canada. As a consequence, Britain was in control of France's former colonies in Canada. The United States was establishing itself east of the Mississippi River. It had a growing population. Both the British in Canada and the Americans were very confident in the strength of their settlements in North America. Neither felt the need to have the support of native allies any longer. Therefore, they did not care if they insulted native people by treating them not as equal and sovereign nations, but as dependents to either Canada or the United States.

Along with this change in attitude of the Americans and British went a burning desire to gain more land for their growing populations. The American and Canadian governments stopped at nothing to get native land. They tried to buy native land. If native people did not want to sell, then the American and Canadian governments tried to trick native people out of their land. If this did not work, than the American and Canadian governments had laws which made it legal in their eyes to dispossess native people of their lands.

The governments of the United States and Canada developed two different but in many ways similar plans that eventually allowed them to gain possession of most of the land that belonged to native people.

This chapter looks at:

1. The American Plan
2. The Canadian Plan
3. The Mohawk Response

1. The American Plan

In 1776 the United States became independent of England. Soon after this, the new United States set out to

gain control of Iroquois lands and then of Iroquois culture and political life. The ultimate goal of the United States government was the destruction of native culture and the seizure of native lands.

Helen Hunt Jackson Wrote About The American Injustices Towards Native People. American people were well aware of their government's plan. Some supported it, while those who did not thought that what was happening to native people could not be stopped. In 1881 an American writer, Helen Hunt Jackson, wrote a small pamphlet called A Century Of Dishonor. In this pamphlet, quoted below, Jackson pointed out the wrongs committed by the American people in dealing with native people:

> The history of the United States Government's repeated violations of faith with the Indians... convicts us, as a nation, not only of having outraged the principles of justice, which are the basis of international law; and of having laid ourselves open to the accusation of both cruelty and perfidy; but of having made ourselves liable to all punishments which follow upon such sins – to arbitrary punishment at the hands of any civilized nation who might see fit to call us to account, and to that more certain natural punishment which, sooner or later, as surely comes from evil-doing as harvests come from sown seed.
>
> To prove all this it is only necessary to study the history of any one of the Indian tribes. I propose to give in the following chapters merely outline sketches of the history of a few of them, not entering more into details than is necessary to show the repeated broken faith of the United States Government toward them. A full history of the wrongs they have suffered at the hands of the authorities, military and civil, and also of the citizens of this country, it would take years to write and volumes to hold.
>
> There is but one hope of righting this wrong. It lies in appeal to the heart and conscience of the American people. What the people demand, Congress will do. It has been-to our shame be it spoken – at the demand of part of the people that all these wrongs have been committed, these treaties broken, these robberies done, by the Government.
>
> So long as there remains on our frontier one square mile of land occupied by a weak and helpless owner, there will be a strong and unscrupulous frontiersman ready to seize it, and a weak and unscrupulous politician, who can be hired for a vote or for money, to back him.
>
> The only thing that can stay this is a mighty outspoken sentiment and purpose of the great body of the people. Right sentiment and right purpose in a Senator here and there, and a Representative here and there, are little more than straws which make momentary eddies, but do not obstruct the tide. The precedents of a century's unhindered and profitable robbery have mounted up into a very Gibraltar of defence and shelter to those who care for nothing but safety and gain. That such precedents

should be held, and openly avowed as standards, is only one more infamy added to the list. Were such logic employed in the case of an individual man, how quick would all men see its enormity. Suppose that a man had had the misfortune to be born into a family whose name had been blackened by generations of criminals; that his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather before them had lived in prisons, and died on scaffolds should that man say in his soul "Go to! What is the use? I also will commit robbery and murder, and get the same gain by it which my family must have done?" Or shall he say in his soul, "God help me! I will do what may be within the power of one man, and the compass of one generation, to atone for the wickedness, and to make clean the name of my dishonored house!"

What an opportunity for the Congress of 1880 to cover itself with a lustre of glory, as the first to cut short our nation's record of cruelties and perjuries! the first to attempt to redeem the name of the United States from the stain of a century of dishonor!...

There are within the limits of the United States between two hundred and fifty and three hundred thousand Indians exclusive of those in Alaska. The names of the different tribes and bands, as entered in the statistical tables of the Indian Office Reports, number nearly three hundred. One of the most careful estimates which has been made of their numbers and localities gives them as follows: "In Minnesota and States east of the Mississippi, about 32,500; in Nebraska, Kansas, and the Indian Territories, 70,650; in the Territories of Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho, 65,000; in Nevada and the Territories of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Arizona, 84,000; and on the Pacific slope, 48,000."

Of these, 130,000 are self-supporting on their own reservations, "receiving nothing from the Government except interest on their own moneys, or annuities granted them in consideration of the cession of their lands to the United States."

This fact alone would seem sufficient to dispose forever of the accusation, so persistently brought against the Indian, that he will not work.

Of the remainder, 84,000 are partially supported by the Government – the interest money due them and their annuities, as provided by treaty, being inadequate to their subsistence on the reservations where they are confined. In many cases, however, these Indians furnish a large part of their support – the White River Utes, for instance, who are getting sixty-six per cent of their living by "root-digging, hunting, and fishing"; the Squaxin band, in Washington Territory, as earning seventy-five per cent, and the Chippewas of Lake Superior as earning fifty per cent in the same way. These facts also would seem to dispose of the accusation that the Indian will not work.

There are about 55,000 who never visit an agency, over whom the Government does not pretend to have either control or care. These 55,000 "subsist by hunting, fishing, on roots, nuts, berries,

etc., and by begging and stealing"; and this also seems to dispose of the accusation that the Indian will not "work for a living." There remains a small portion, about 31,000, that are entirely subsisted by the Government.

There is not among these three hundred bands of Indians one which has not suffered cruelly at the hands either of the Government or of white settlers. The poorer, the more insignificant, the more helpless the band, the more certain the cruelty and outrage to which they have been subjected. This is especially true of the bands on the Pacific slope. These Indians found themselves of a sudden surrounded by and caught up in the great influx of gold-seeking settlers, as helpless creatures on a shore are caught up in a tidal wave. There was not time for for the Government to make treaties; not even time for communities to make laws. The tale of the wrongs, the oppressions, the murders of the Pacific-slope Indians in the last thirty years would be a volume by itself, and is too monstrous to be believed.

It makes little difference, however, where one opens the record of the history of the Indians; every page and every year has its dark stain. The story of one tribe is the story of all, varied only by differences of time and place; but neither time nor place makes any difference in the main facts. Colorado is as greedy and unjust in 1880 as was Georgia in 1830, and Ohio in 1795; and the United States Government breaks promises now as deftly as then, and with an added ingenuity from long practice.

One of its strongest supports in so doing is the wide-spread sentiment among the people of dislike to the Indian, of impatience with his presence as a "barrier to civilization," and distrust of it as a possible danger. The old tales of the frontier life, with its horrors of Indian warfare, have gradually, by two or three generations' telling, produced in the average mind something like an hereditary instinct of unquestioning and unreasoning aversion which it is almost impossible to dislodge or soften.

There are hundreds of pages of unimpeachable testimony on the side of the Indian; but it goes for nothing, is set down as sentimentalism or partisanship, tossed aside and forgotten.

President after president has appointed commission after commission to inquire into and report upon Indian affairs, and to make suggestions as to the best methods of managing them. The reports are filled with eloquent statements of wrongs done to the Indians, of perfidies on the part of the Government; they counsel, as earnestly as words can, trial of the simple and unperplexing expedients of telling truth, keeping promises, making fair bargains, dealing justly in all ways and all things. These reports are bound up with the Government's Annual Reports, and that is the end of them. It would probably be no exaggeration to say that not one American citizen out of ten thousand ever sees them or knows that they exist, and yet any one of them, circulated throughout the country, read by the right-thinking, right-feeling men and women of this land, would be of itself a "campaign document" that would initiate a revolution which would not

subside until the Indians' wrongs were, so far as is now left possible, righted.

In 1869 President Grant appointed a commission of nine men, representing the influence and philanthropy of six leading States, to visit the different Indian reservations, and to "examine" Indian reservations, and to "examine all matters appertaining to Indian affairs."

In the report of this commission are such paragraphs as the following:

"To assert that 'the Indian will not work' is as true as it would be to say that the white man will not work.

"Why should the Indian be expected to plant corn, fence lands, build houses, or do anything but get food from day to day, when experience has taught him that the product of his labor will be seized by the white man to-morrow? The most industrious white man would become a drone under similar circumstances. Nevertheless, many of the Indians" (the commissioners might more forcibly have said 130,000 of the Indians) "are already at work, and furnish ample refutation of the assertion that 'the Indian will not work.' There is no escape from the inexorable logic of facts.

"The history of the Government connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises. The history of the border white man's connection with the Indians is a sickening record of murder, outrage, robbery, and wrongs committed by the former, as the rule, and occasional savage outbreaks and unspeakable barbarous deeds of retaliation by the latter, as the exception.

"Taught by the Government that they had rights entitled to respect, when those rights have been assailed by the rapacity of the white man, the arm which should have been raised to protect them has ever been ready to sustain the aggressor.

"The testimony of some of the highest military officers of the United States is on record to the effect that, in our Indian wars, almost without exception, the first aggressions have been made by the white man; and the assertion is supported by every civilian of reputation who has studied the subject. In addition to the class of robbers and outlaws who find impunity in their nefarious pursuits on the frontiers, there is a large class of professedly reputable men who use every means in their power to bring on Indian wars for the sake of the profit to be realized from the presence of troops and the expenditure of Government funds in their midst. They proclaim death to the Indian at all times in words and publications, making no distinction between the innocent and the guilty. They incite the lowest class of men to the perpetration of the darkest deeds against their victims, and as judges and jurymen shield them from the justice due to their crimes. Every crime committed by a white man against an Indian is concealed or paliated. Every offence committed by an Indian against a white man is borne on the wings of the post or the telegraph to the remotest corner of the land, clothed with all horrors which the reality or imagination can throw around it. Against such influences as these the people of the United States need to be warned."

To assume that it would be easy, or by any one sudden stroke of legislative policy possible, to undo the mischief and hurt of the long past, set the Indian policy of the country right for the future, and make the Indians at once safe and happy, is the blunder of a hasty and uninformed judgment. The notion which seems to be growing more prevalent, that simply to make all Indians at once citizens of the United States would be a sovereign and instantaneous panacea for all their ills and all the Government's perplexities, is a very inconsiderate one. To administer complete citizenship of a sudden, all round, to all Indians, barbarous and civilized alike would be as grotesque a blunder as to dose them all round with any one medicine, irrespective of the symptoms and needs of their diseases. It would kill more than it would cure. Nevertheless, it is true, as was well stated by one of the superintendents of Indian Affairs in 1857, that, "so long as they are not citizens of the United States, their rights of property must remain insecure against invasion. The doors of the federal tribunals being barred against them while wards and dependents, they can only partially exercise the rights of free government, or give to those who make, execute, and construe the few laws they are allowed to enact, dignity sufficient to make them respectable. While they continue individually to gather the crumbs that fall from the table of the United States, idleness, improvidence, and indebtedness will be the rule, and industry, thrift, and freedom from debt the exception. The utter absence of individual title to particular lands deprives every one among them of the chief incentive to labor and exertion-the very mainspring on which the prosperity of a people depends."

All judicious plans and measures for their safety and salvation must embody provisions for their becoming citizens as fast as they are fit, and must protect them till then in every right and particular in which our laws protect other "persons" who are not citizens.

There is a disposition in a certain class of minds to be impatient with any protestation against wrong which is unaccompanied or unprepared with a quick and exact scheme of remedy. This is illogical. When pioneers in a new country find a tract of poisonous and swampy wilderness to be reclaimed, they do not withhold their lands from fire and axe till they see clearly which way roads should run, where good water will spring, and what crops will best grow on the redeemed land. They first clear the swamp. So with this poisonous and baffling part of the domain of our national affairs – let us first "clear the swamp."

However great perplexity and difficulty there may be in the details of any and every plan possible for doing at this late day anything like justice to the Indian, however hard it may be for good statesmen and good men to agree upon the things that ought to be done, there certainly is, or ought to be, no perplexity whatever, no difficulty whatever, in agreeing upon certain things that ought not to be done, and which must cease to be done before the first steps can be taken toward righting the wrongs, curing the ills, and wiping out the disgrace to us of the present condition of our Indians.

> Cheating, robbing, breaking promises – these three are clearly things which must cease to be done. One more thing, also and that is the refusal of the protection of the law to the Indian's rights of property, "of life, liberty, and the pusuit of happiness."
>
> When these four things have ceased to be done, time, statesmanship, philanthropy, and Christianity can slowly and surely do the rest. Till these four things have ceased to be done, statesmanship and philanthropy alike must work in vain, and even Christianity can reap but small harvest. [1]

The Dawes General Allotment Act Was Supposed To Help Native People. Jackson's criticism of American society was listened to. In 1887 the Congress of the United States passed the "Dawes General Allotment Act". The Dawes Act was supposed to help native people. According to its provisions the President of the United States was authorized to give individual natives up to 160 acres of land, to be held in trust by the federal government.

However, the Dawes Act was detrimental to the quality of life of native people. The social structure of the many nations deteriorated. Native people were swindled out of their property and life on the reservation came to be characterized by disease, poverty and loss of spirit. Because of the Dawes Act, two thirds of native land amounting to 92 million acres were turned over to the Americans.

2. The Canadian Plan

In order to understand the Canadian government's policy towards native people, and the Mohawk response to this position it is necessary to investigate the four stages of Canadian Indian policy from 1776 to 1890.

Phase One: 1776-1814 – The British Treated the Kanienkehaka With Respect. In the years between 1776 when the United States declared itself free from England until the close of the War of 1812 in the year 1814, the British related to the Kanienkehaka as a nation. The Kanienkehaka were vital to British interests in North America. The British treated the Kanienkehaka and most native people with respect. They may have looked down on native people privately. However, they did not show this in the public conferences they held with native people, such as those in which they requested young Mohawk men to go to war in British battles.

Phase Two: 1814-1867 – The British Wanted to "Civilize"

Native People. During the years after the War of 1812 to 1876 Indian policy changed. By the 1840's the British government insisted upon "civilizing" native people. The British wanted to assimilate native people. If this were done, it would be easier for the British to gain native land.

In 1842 a Commission was appointed by the Governor General Sir Charles Bagot. The Bagot Commission was to study the "Indian Problem" and make recommendations for policy and law to the government. The Bagot Commission recommended against treating native people any different from other Canadians. It suggested that annuity payments to native people, presents and payment for native lands be discontinued.

The Bagot Commission recommendations were put into a series of laws developed between 1850 and 1867. In some respects these laws were meant to protect native people. On the other hand, they encouraged native people to become a part of Canadian society as quickly possible. These laws outlined ways in which Canada could transform native people into Canadian citizens.

None of these laws were made with the permission of or input of native people. They were made by the British in Canada as solutions to what they viewed as the Indian problem. What was the Indian problem? The very fact that there were native people with native land was viewed as a problem to the British.

One particular feature of Mohawk culture was bothersome to the British. The Kanienkehaka were a matrilineal society. The power of the society rested in the women. The lands were owned by the women. Only with the permission of the women could the lands be sold. The Kanienkehaka regarded the earth as mother. The respect that the Kanienkehaka had for mothers of the nation, they had for the lands. As a whole, the people did not want the lands to be sold.

Phase Three: 1867-1887 – The Parliament Of Canada Passed The Indian Act. In 1867 the British passed the British North America Act. According to the British North America Act, Canada was united into a single dominion. The Act gave the Parliament of Canada the authority to make laws pertaining to native people and lands reserved for native people. This meant that native nations would deal directly with the federal government and not the provincial governments.

Back in 1857 a law had been passed called "An Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Canadas".

According to this law, native people were to become enfranchised as soon as possible. Enfranchisement means that a native person ceases being a member of a native nation and becomes a citizen of Canada. An additional law was passed in 1859 called "the Civilization and Enfranchisement Act of 1859".

Additional laws were passed by the new Parliament of Canada from 1867 to 1876. In 1876 the Parliament of Canada passed the Indian Act. It is this law which has exerted the most outside influence on native nations. The purpose of the Indian Act was to weaken the power and prestige of traditional native government, to remove women of the nations from positions of power, to give native people Canadian citizenship, and to gradually terminate all claims of native people to lands in Canada.

The Mohawk Nation had never surrendered as a defeated nation to the Canadian government. Therefore, the Canadian government had no right to interfere with the administration or governing of Mohawk settlements. The Kanienkehaka would have to ask to be under the Indian Act in order to come under its jurisdiction. Amendments were made to the Indian Act in 1879 and 1884. The purpose of these amendments were to make Canadian citizens out of the "more acculturated" nations of Ontario and Quebec.

Phase Four: 1884-1890 – The Canadian Government Wanted The Indian Act To Replace Traditional Mohawk Government. "The Indian Advancement Act" of 1884 outlined ways for the "more advanced bands of Indians of Canada" to elect chiefs "with a view to training them for the exercise of municipal powers". According to the Indian Advancement Act, communities did not have to follow this form of government. The Department of Indian Affairs wanted the policy followed, however, even if it meant rigging the elections.

3. The Mohawk Response

Evidence of rigging elections was found at Tyendinaga. The Indian agent for this reserve wanted to know from his superiors what he should do if the people elected what he regarded as the wrong people. The Indian agent was concerned that a man, Archibald Culbertson, might be elected councillor:

> I am informed that Archibald Culbertson intends to offer himself as a candidate for re-election. Will you kindly advise me whether I shall record his name as a candidate?

His superiors replied:

> There would appear to be nothing in the law to prevent Culbertson from offering himself as a candidate, but the Depart-

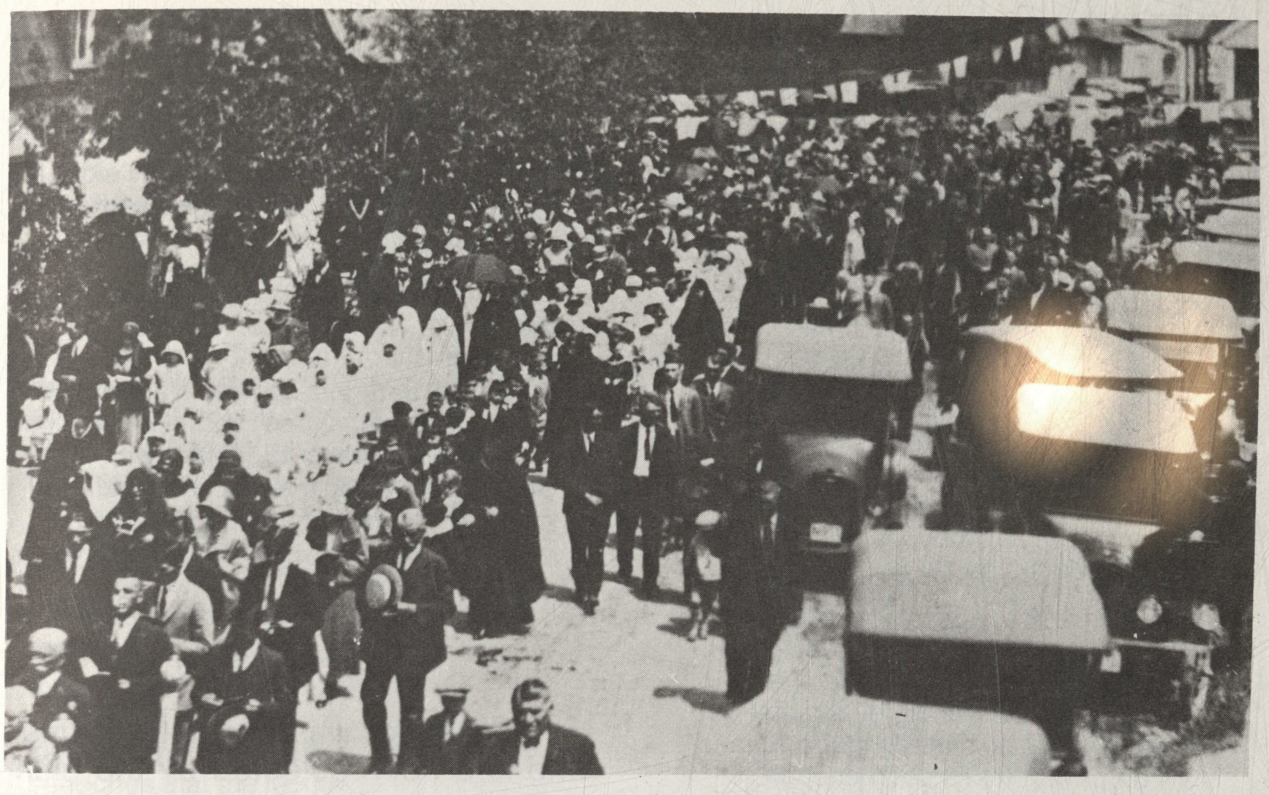
ment would, of course, reserve to itself the right to allow or disallow his election should he succeed in obtaining the largest number of votes.

Tyendinaga Wanted To Keep Traditional Government. The people of Tyendinaga were aware of the double dealings of the Canadian government and the Indian Act. On October 29, 1888 the people of this Mohawk settlement sent a letter to the governor general of Canada clearly stating how they wanted their system of government to operate:

> Brother! As we understand that the majority must rule, and a very large majority of the Bay of Quinte Six Nations Mohawk have on the 13th day of October, 1887, renewed their Council Fire according to their rites, and decided to do away with council men entirely, and have hereditary chiefs take their places. Our brethren, the Six Nations Chiefs on the 15th of the same month, and also on the 13th day of September, 1888, and by a large majority, approved of the system of having hereditary chiefs instead of council men. We therefore do not want our Council Fire extinguished because it was the custom and manner of our forefathers.
>
> We lay before your Excellency of our main object to do away with the way of electing council committee because they are working contrary to the welfare of the Bay of Quinte Six Nations, that we have entirely lost confidence in them, and that there is division among themselves which they have unseated one without the consent of the people. And moreover, the intoxicant liquors is used every election day.

The Canadian Government Did Not Listen. Because they did not receive a favorable reply, the people again wrote out a petition. This time they reminded the governor general of the obligations which the British had assumed in the past. It recalled promises the British made to "remain in its own vessel, and the native in his birch bark canoe," and that the British will never make any compulsory laws for the Six Nations and the treaties between them shall remain unmolested forever." It reminded him of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, in which the native land would be secured to native people for all time. And lastly, it reminded him of the solemn promise of peace and friendship:

> We will remind you of the Covenant Chain of Peace and Friendship between the English people and the Six Nations. When our forefathers first made the Covenant Chain with the English, both parties engaged to keep the ends of it fast in their hands: that they would take care to keep it from breaking, or from getting any rust or filth upon it. That they would be as one flesh and blood so that if any enemies should intend to hurt or strike one party, the other should immediately give notice, rise up and help him, that a good road should always be kept open between them.



We the old people (are sorely grieved) of receiving such a document from the Privy Council stating that our wishes cannot be compiled with... It fills us with great concern. Neither can we visualize any account for it, having always lived in the strictest friendship with the British Government and our forefathers faithfully served and assisted them in all their wars back against the French, and in the Revolutionary War. We therefore cannot but think extremely hard to be deprived from our rational freedom and to suffer such treatment, in return to pass laws to encroach our systematic constitution and also to our treaty rights in which our forefathers in their great wisdom thought proper to enter into an alliance with the English. And also the treaties were sealed in blood of our forefathers to benefit and to promote their children's children's welfare. It is necessary in order for the preservation of our liberties and rights, privileges and customs.

Brother! At the time of the formation of the treaties to be perpetuated, the Six Nations Indians were found and looked upon as a people, and had a systematic constitution. Therefore, they were enabled to form these very important and sound treaties with the English nation... It was understood by both parties in their treaties that each should maintain their own constitutions, but in the present instance, it appears that the Silver Chain is now tarnished upon these points.

The Canadian Government which does not recognize us fully looks upon the Six

> Nations as minors and treats them as such.
>
> Brother! We quote the words of Lord Dufferin, one of your predecessors saying the people of Canada and the people of Britain will not cease to recognize these obligations... Never shall the word of Britain, once pledged, be broken.
>
> Brother! We now beg to assure you that our feelings of loyalty to the British Crown are as deep, as sincere, and as true at this day as they were in the days of our forefathers of old...
>
> We will give you the statement made by Agent Hill on the 10th of November, saying that the Government are getting tired of us Indians, and they'd rather get rid of us, and also stated that we Indians will be paying taxes soon enough.
>
> ... We are your most obedient, and most humble and devoted friends.

The superintendent general of Indian Affairs, to whom the petition was automatically referred, was not impressed by the arguments raised. He simply wrote to the Canadian government giving his recommendations. The government fully accepted them:

> It would be inexpedient to make the proposed change, and Your Excellency is therefore unable to accede to their request, and that it is considered unnecessary to prolong the correspondence.

Again, but this time by delegation, the Tyendinaga people approached the governor general in 1889, asking him:

> What is your power and authority to rule our people?
>
> Rotiyaner (the chiefs) have at all times the power to legislate, oversee, and supervise all matters of business, interest, advantages, and general welfare of the people, when said Rotiyaner represents always to abide with the pledge of keeping the War Club and war material of every description buried in oblivion, by always propagating the policy of peace, justice, between their allied nations of Indians and between man and man. Also to be a moralist or spiritual advisor.

The petition was signed by the men who had been selected by the clan-mothers to perform the peaceful duties just listed.

Still not recognized by the Canadian government, the people were still concerned about the deepening breach in the relationship between them and the Canadian government. They sent a lengthy petition to the governor general. The petition reminded him of the friendship shown by the native people to non-native people. They stated that they would like to be treated equally as well by the Canadian government:

> Brother! We remember still that when our forefathers first met with you, when you came with your ship, and our forefathers kindly received you and entertained you and entered into an alliance

with you. Though our forefathers were then great and numerous, and your people were inconsiderable and weak, and they knew that, they entered into a Covenant Chain with you and fastened your ship therewith, being apprehensive the bark would break away and your ship be lost.

Brother! We are now inconsiderable and weak, and you are now a great and numerous people, and you know that we entered into a Convenant Chain of Brotherly Love, and therefore we also like to be entertained and recognize our request concerning our just rights from the Government.

Brother! It is now 225 years since our forefathers and others have signed an agreement. As Captain Joseph Brant long afterwards said in one of his speeches that the Mohawks were determined to sink or swim with the English. But Sir, we are sinking fast because our treaty right is neglected.

Kahnawake, Kanesatake And Akwesasne Wanted To Keep Traditional Government. At Kahnawake, Kanesatake and Akwesasne, people were feeling much the same. In December, 1890, the Kahnawake people wrote the government of their intention to remain with their traditional form of government:

Since every nation throughout the world retains their own customs, rites and ceremonies, and according to the British Constitution, it gives them full privileges and entire power to create Kings, Queens, and Lords and Peers as hereditaries.

Brother! We cannot account that why we cannot adhere according to our customs, rights, and ceremonies, since it will give no hindrance to advance in civilization.

At Akwesasne, the people signed their names and marks on this petition:

The Indian Act only breeds sorrow, contention, hatred, disrespect of family ties, spite against one another, and absence of unity among us Indians. It also creates two distinct parties at the elections. This law was never authorized in its adaptation among the Indians... There is only one way to recover brotherly feelings, that of substituting the seven lords appointed by each of the seven totems according to the ancient customs which we know gave us peace, prosperity, friendship, and brotherly feelings in every cause, either for personal good, or for the benefit of the entire band.

Over a 1000 Kanienkehaka from Akwesasne, Kahnawake, and Kanesatake met to sign the petition quoted above. They were calling for a preservation of the Confederacy, which was now struggling for life against religious, political and geographic differences.

Because of all the mass meetings and the petitions which were flooding the governor general, T.M. Daly who was superintendent general of Indian Affairs, and his deputy went to Kahnawake for a public meeting.

The official minutes of the meeting

were written by an assistant who paraphrased the many emotional appeals in Mr. Daly's speech:

> What would their Ontario brothers say when they hear that the Caughnawagas wish to go back to the old condition, and what would the white people think? They had to consider their children's children, in connection with the question.
>
> No matter what might be the views of different members of the band, the responsibility of the decision would be upon him. If the decision resulted in the Indians going backward instead of forward it was he that would be held responsible. He had to consider and decide the question solely with a view to their best interest. If he went back and told his colleagues in the Government that the Indians of Caughnawaga, St. Regis, and Oka, the most advanced and intelligent Indians in Canada, wanted to go back to the old system, he would have great difficulty in convincing them that such was really the desire of the Indians.
>
> Apart from the question which they had met to dicuss, the Minister said he had a few words of advice to offer. He then reminded them of the great market which they had at the very door in the City of Montreal, and he pointed out to them if they would work the valuable land of the reserve in raising vegetables and butter and food for that market, they would in a very few years be as well off as any farmers in the country.
>
> He then dealt upon the evils resulting from agitation, telling them that among the Indians, as among the white men, the man who talks the most did the least, and in the end was the worse off. Of the 400 or more present, only about ten spoke. When those who had said nothing, contenting themselves with listening, thought the matter over at their firesides, they would conclude, Mr. Daly thought, that when the Government applied the Advancement Act to them, it was done in their best interest. He added that it would take a great deal to lead them to revoke its application.
>
> If we do not meet your wishes, said Mr. Daly, you must not think hardly of us, for we look upon every question solely from the standpoint of your interests, and the experience gained in the government of all the Indians of the Dominion is used in dealing with your affairs.

The Women Of Kahnawake And Akwesasne Petitioned Ottawa Without Success. A year later, there was a new Minister of Indian Affairs. The women of Kahnawake decided to try again. They wrote to the Honourable Clifford Sifton:

> We are simply women, but it is in the confidence of our noble and gracious mother, the Queen of England, who, being a woman, and recalling to mind that your mother was also a woman. Think it is she now that begs and humbles before your feet. Kindly hear our words of petition, and do not despise the words and voice of a woman.
>
> Listen to us as it were the voice of your kind and loving mother... Since the

change of our chiefs, into councillors, our sorrows manifolded, we have lost many advantages, it has caused many family disputes, brother against brother. It has separated them and it has caused an ill feeling which is yet burning.

To this eloquent plea, Duncan C. Scott, who was to become the deputy superintendent general, wrote back simply:

I regret that the petition of the Women of Caughnawaga cannot be entertained.

No attention can be given to any further representations in that regard which may be made by them or any persons on their behalf.

In 1898, Akwesasne was to have an election under the Indian Act. However, the election did not happen. This is what took place.

The clanmothers of Akwesasne took up what was to be their last petition before swinging into action. On June 2nd, 1898, they wrote the governor general:

We have considered the elective system as not being intended by us Indians, and we would therefore return to our old methods of selecting our life chiefs, according to our Constitution Iroquois Government. As Your Excellency must know, the ancient custom of creating the chiefs is that they are selected according to the different clans, there being three from each clan, and also three women who select her special chief from among her clan. Of these chiefs, one is considered the head chief, the second is 'the big man' and the third is the 'crier.' As there is four distinct clans, there is twelve life chiefs who hold their offices for life.

But if any misdemeanor shall offend their clans, these women first hold council with the women of their own clan, and if they find his offence of sufficient strength to warrant their resignation, these women will call upon the men members of their clan, and they meet and select another member to represent them. They then turn the newly selected members to the twelve life chiefs for their confirmation and ratification.

The women councillors each watches over her special charge and informs them of the rules of their chieftainship. First that he shall never touch spiritous liquors. Second, never to be guilty of theft from the band, if only twenty-five cents. Third, that he shall not commit adultery. This is according to the old time laws and customs that only fit proper members can hold offices.

The Department of Indian Affairs took little notice. The women went ahead with their meeting, and appointed and confirmed their chiefs. They told Ottawa what they had done. The Department of Indian Affairs responded in anger. The secretary wrote the local agent, George Long:

The Department is determined not to allow any of the Indians to set its authority at defiance.

The war was on. Twice the De-

partment called an election. Twice the people forcibly prevented the election from being held. Inspector McCrea was sent down from Ottawa to hold a meeting. He reported back directly to the superintendent general:

> They were informed in the most explicit terms that even if a return to what they consider their ancient system were allowed, of which no hope whatsoever could be held out, the relations of the Indians to the law would not be changed in any particular.
>
> They might as well look for the falling off the sky as to expect recognition of their claim to hold the position of a practically independent state.

The superintendent general responded:

> ...the St. Regis Indians be informed through the agent that after careful consideration, I have decided that no return to another system of constituting chiefs than that provided by the Indian Act shall be permitted... the Indians be informed that no further representations will lead in any way to the modification of this decision... that the Indians be informed that the agitation carried on by those members of the band who claim exception from the operation of the laws has prevented the distribution of the interest money... that the Indians be informed that as soon as they show their willingness to abide by the law and elect a council under the Indian Act, the interest money will be paid... that the Indians be informed that until a council is elected under the Act, the Department will administer as far as it may the affairs of the band. [2]

Akwesasne Stopped Indian Act Elections. Two months later, the Department of Indian Affairs again tried to hold an election. The election did not materialize. The story of what happened came out in the March 28, 1899, edition of the Montreal Star in large headlines:

> INDIANS REVOLT AT ST. REGIS
>
> They refuse to allow an election to proceed and assault Dominion police, Troops may be called out.
>
> Cornwall:... In August last, the time for the election of officers, the Dominion Government despatched some of the Dominion Police to St. Regis to maintain order and allow the election to be carried out according to law, but the Indians on the reserve refused to allow the election to proceed and the officers were forced to return to Ottawa.
>
> The election was again billed for Monday last, and Lieut. Colonel Sherwood, commissioner of Dominion Police, sent Inspector Logan and Constable Chamberlain to try their hand. At twelve o'clock, these two gentlemen with Indian Agent Long and assistants went to the Village School House where the election was to have taken place.
>
> They found it surrounded by about 200 aborigines. They were refused admittance and a general riot took place. The police were badly assaulted, and Indian Agent Long was seized and locked up in

the school house. A guard was placed over him, and the Dominion Police were driven away. At six o'clock at night, Mr. Long was still caged up.

Inspector Logan said he could do nothing further in the matter, and would return to Ottawa and report to Commissioner Sherwood, who will in all likelihood send a posse of men, or the 43rd Battalion down to carry out the election.

The inspector said the tribe became infuriated, and imagined that the old aborigine days had returned. With visions of the warpath before them, they fought like demons and the officers state that had they used their weapons, they would have been scalped by the frenzied mob.

3

On March 31, 1899, the Ottawa Citizen reported that the Kanienkehaka had not injured the officers, but had simply carried them away bodily after having taken away their sidearms:

INDIANS ARE QUIETER

The government is not likely to take any further action at present in the trouble at the St. Regis Reserve, Colonel Sherwood, Commissioner of the Dominion Police stated to a Citizen reporter.

The Indians would probably make no further attempt for some time at least to elect their own chiefs. They will probably quiet down and accept the authority of the agency. It is believed a few hot heads in the tribe started the trouble...

Should they, however, persist in running an election according to tribal custom, stern measures will be adopted with them. [4]

Akwesasne Chiefs Arrested – A Mohawk Man Shot To Death. All was quiet on a warm May day in the St. Regis village in Akwesasne. The corn had just been planted, the church was preparing for the annual grand procession, and the spring fish run was about over. It was time to begin thinking of employment for the summer. A messenger went to the homes of the hereditary chiefs. He stated that there were some men at the agent's office to interview workmen, and to see the chiefs about buying stone to rebuild the collapsed piers of the Cornwall Bridge. When the chiefs arrived at the office, they found no interviewers. Instead, stood Colonel Sherwood and some policemen with warrants for their arrests. They had arrived at the village by tugboat from Valleyfield in the early hours of the morning to lay the trap. The full story is best told as it was read in the House of Commons by the member of Parliament from Beauharnois:

> ...Two or three, unsuspecting of any plot, hurried to the office where they were seized and promplty manacled by the police. A woman saw them throw down one poor fellow and put handcuffs on him and hurried to tell her brother.
>
> Furious at the intelligence, Jake Ice burst into the office and flew to release his brother. Colonel Sherwood intercepted him, and a struggle ensued during which Sherwood, stronger and younger then Ice, shot him twice, the second shot being fatal.
>
> The police, with their prisoners, marched to the tug and left unmolested, although the whole tribe was gathered at the wharf and could have overwhelmed them had they not been what they really are, a quiet and inoffensive people. [5]

Even though the agent's office was full of policemen, and Ice was the only native present without handcuffs, Ab Cawdron, the secretary to the Commissioner, was quoted in the Ottawa Journal as saying:

> I tell you, we were as near death as I ever want to be, and had Colonel Sherwood not shot Ice, none of the officers would be alive today.

The Huntington Gleaner, the nearest "local" paper, was outraged. In an editorial which was published May 4, 1899, but which still seems appropriate today, it said:

> That the killing of a man at St. Regis should have given shock to this community is not to be wondered at, for we are neighbors to the Indians. But we trust it will have a wider effect, that it may be the means of calling public attention to the treatment of the St. Regis Band, and induce the government to look into the causes of the trouble which had so deplorable a result.
>
> Had the Indian Advancement Act not

been made to apply to the St. Regis Band, there would not be today a woman and three children mourning over a dead husband and father, and the tribe would be spared the painful ordeal they are now undergoing of being harassed by the officers of the law.

It is because the Ottawa Department was determined on forcing the change before these people are ready for it that the shocking collision took place. A body of Dominion Police were sent from Ottawa to maintain the majesty of Red Tape and departmental wooden-headedness by arresting the leaders of those who defeated the attempt to elect councillors.

In reality, the whites have been the aggressors all through the wretched affair, which has had so tragic an ending. It was the whites who passed a law to interfere with the internal management of an inoffensive tribe, and the Indians were merely resisting an attempt to change the customs that are dear to them, and which concern themselves alone... They simply ask to be let alone, an independent community, ruled by themselves, and we do not see why what they ask should be withheld. The Government can well afford to call a truce, stop further proceedings, and send a message of peace to St. Regis that it will be classed among the reserves exempted from the operation of the statute they so much dislike.

More Chiefs Were Arrested. But the government was not about to call a truce. In fact, warrants were issued for more of the chiefs. Upon hearing of this, seven chiefs went to Beauharnois, voluntarily, where they were jailed. Louis David and a friend, not knowing warrants were out for them as well, went to hire a lawyer to aid the jailed men. They did not make it to the lawyer's office, however. The Huntington Gleaner reported what happened to them:

> Those who were present on the platform on New York Central Station in Huntington on the morning of the second were witnesses of the outrageous manner in which the Indians (David and his friend) were arrested. Two decent-looking Indians were waiting to take the train to Beauharnois. They made no concealment of who they were, or their errand, telling they were on their way on behalf of the tribe to engage a lawyer to defend those arrested on Monday. The two men were quite unsuspicious of danger, and unconscious of having done wrong. Suddenly, a rush was made on them from back and front, and one was seized and handcuffed by men who bore no outward sign of officers, and who read no warrant.

The Huntington paper went on to talk about the inquest into Jake Ice's death:

> Louis Sunday testified at the inquest that hearing an alarm, he ran to the office and just as he passed the door, he was felled by a blow over the eyes. He is now in jail awaiting trial. Trial for what? The agent's office is a public place, and any Indian had a right to go to it. Sunday

> declared before the Coroner's Jury he went without malice, and in ignorance of what was going on, and purely from curiosity. He is met at the door by a stranger in everyday dress and knocked senseless.
>
> It is not the man who struck him who is arrested, but the Indian, who is torn from his home, put in jail, and awaits his trial for assaulting on officer of justice. And obstructing him in the discharge of his duty. Considering all these details, we think it would be a mistake in the Indians to make any compromise. The government ought to drop the prosecution.

Hereditary Chiefs Spent A Year In Jail Before A Trial Was Held. But the prosecution was not dropped. Although some of the men were eventually released on bail, Louis David, Jake Fire, Joseph Thompson, Mitchell Day and Louis Leaf, all chiefs were kept in jail. They spent the spring there, the summer, watched the leaves turn in the autumn, went through the winter in their cells, and in the following spring were finally brought to trial. That they were political prisoners is evident from the letters from the Indian Affairs Branch secretary to the deputy minister of justice:

> ...with respect to those Indians of St. Regis who were imprisoned at Beauharnois in May last...it has been decided that the whole of the Indians on bail should appear, and that then, with the exception of two or three of the most notorious elements, they should be discharged upon giving proper recognizance to appear if required. [6]

Indian Affairs Wanted The Kanienkehaka To Pay The Cost Of The Trial. Not only was this to happen, but the Department of Indian Affairs planned to make the Kanienkehaka pay for the cost of their prosecution, as well as the costs of their defense. The inspector of Indian Agencies wrote Ottawa:

> ...so as to establish the amenability of all to the laws of Canada, and to dispel the fictions of the agitators, such two or three will be tried, and if possible, convicted and sentenced.
>
> The costs of prosecution may be fairly borne by the band's fund, as the prosecution was indubitably in the band's best interests. [7]

The inspector had made all of this very clear to the Kanienkehaka. The departmental interpreter noted in a memorandum:

> The delegates wanted the government to intervene and stop the trial. Mr. McCrea told them it depended altogether on their part. If at their request, they should show good and proper spirit to obey the law, by passing a resolution to have a lockup at that reserve and constable placed there, the Department will try to intervene in the coming trial. [8]

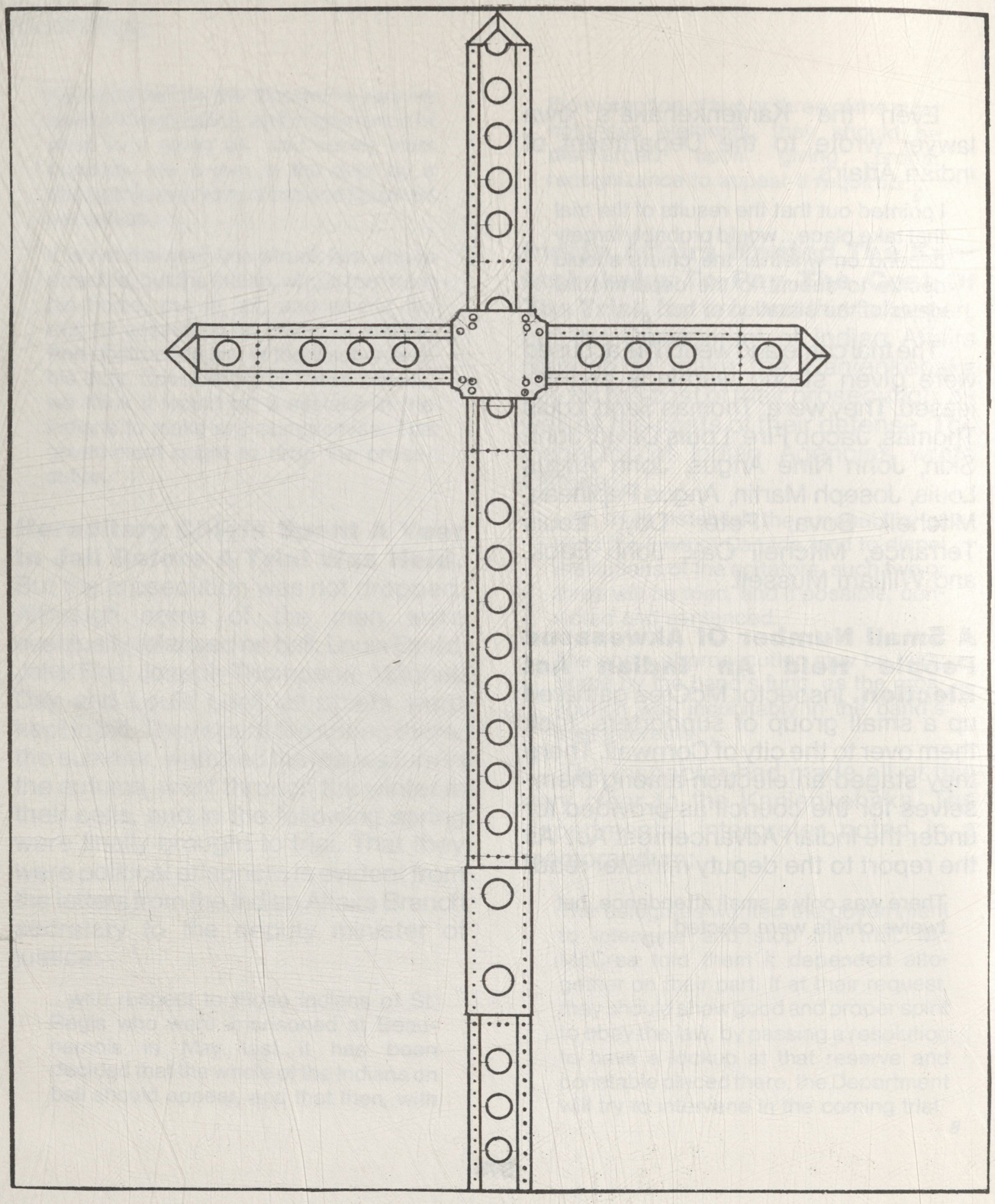
Even the Kanienkehaka's own lawyer wrote to the Department of Indian Affairs:

> I pointed out that the results of the trial that take place... would probably largely depend on whether the chiefs should decide to submit to the departmental views of the situation or not. [9]

The trial came and went. The accused were given strong warnings and released. They were: Thomas Sand, Louis Thomas, Jacob Fire, Louis David, John Skin, John Nine Angus, John Angus Louis, Joseph Martin, Angus Papineau, Mitchell Bova, Peter Day, Louis Terrance, Mitchell Oak, John Back, and William Mussell.

A Small Number Of Akwesasne People Held An Indian Act Election. Inspector McCrea gathered up a small group of supporters, took them over to the city of Cornwall. There they staged an election among themselves for the council as provided for under the Indian Advancement Act. As the report to the deputy minister read:

> There was only a small attendance, but twelve chiefs were elected. [10]



Chapter 23
The Kanienkehaka At The Turn Of The Twentieth Century

By the turn of the century, the Canadian government was attempting to force the Indian Act onto the native people of Canada. These measures were ignored for the most part by the Kanienkehaka. Most Mohawk people refused to participate in the Band Council elections. What emerged was a dual system of government in Mohawk communities. The traditional council continued to be the basic unit of government. The Band council system served as a liaison with the Canadian government.

Although there were political pressures, life was not too difficult for the Kanienkehaka. Many things were happening in the Mohawk world and the world outside. Some of these happenings were to have a profound effect on the people.

This chapter looks at:

1. The 1883 Kahnawake Agricultural Exposition
2. The Quebec Bridge Disaster
3. Brooklyn, New York

1. The 1883 Kahnawake Agricultural Exposition

In 1883 the people of Kahnawake hosted a large agricultural exposition in the village. Similar expositions were held at Akwesasne and Six Nations in the following ten years. A description of the Kahnawake exposition was provided in the September 29th Montreal Daily Witness paper. Reading from it helps give an insight into the daily life and everyday pursuits of the Kanienkehaka:

> Upon entering the agricultural tent the first to be noticed as you turn to the right is a display of fine potatoes, of varied sort, as the best exhibition in the land can boast. In fact, the judges confessed themselves baffled in awarding the premiums, and it will not be surprising if several first prizes will be requisite to an equitable decision. While one lot would take the eye for ponderosity of its units, another would claim admiration for rotundity and clearness of texture, suggestive of mealiness after emerging from the pot. Beans were shown in every variety and of best quality, and by the number of lots they seem to be a specialty with the Indians. There was a good deal of buckwheat, of well developed grain; also peas, but the few samples of oats shown were very light. Some large pumpkins and beets were laid out, and a few cucumbers of fine growth and appearance. One or two bags of hay seed

seemed to be well cleaned and of a good quality. In apples one basket in particular was magnificent, as a sample to be seen at this office can testify, and the women who owned it said she had thirteen trees bearing that gigantic variety. There were thirteen or fourteen other lots, some of them excellent and others apparently good keepers and first rate fruit. One or two baskets showed the effects of handling too much for exhibition purposes. Perhaps the finest display was in Indian corn – white, yellow, mottled and variegated, in numerous assortment and better than the average to be found in our market stalls. Sweet corn also was represented by finely developed ears, but in few lots. Preserved fruits, home-made wine and cider, maple syrup and three samples of large and luscious grapes occupied a good share of the table. Of bread there was a creditable display in plain loaf, bakers' and home made, including a fine cake, one or two decorated tastily in confectionery. A good deal of butter was shown, much of it of excellent color and apparently good body and flavor.

NATIVE HANDICRAFT AND ART.

Before leaving this tent a variety of native handiwork demands much of the visitor's attention. Lacrosse and snow shoe men have their enthusiasm fully evoked by a brilliant display of implements for their exercise, substantial and pretty. Lacrosse sticks, tipped with hand pieces of velvet and buckskin and bedizened

with ribbons seem too aesthetic, particularly for Philistine rough players, but they are none the less strong and durable for their attractiveness to eye and hand, the very best wood and netting being used. Two miniature Indian houses, contributed by 'all' as the label tells, at once arrest observation – one a bark and the other a log cabin. The first one has an Indian and his wife, in well-executed effigy, seated at work by the door, while a bear is tethered at each corner. It is embellished by a sketch of Zacharie Vincent te Lario Lin, a Huron chief of Lorette, executed by himself as were also two painted portraits shown on the same stand. A remarkable deal of expression is thrown into the features, which is more strikingly manifest by another crude execution of the other parts of the pictures, the background scenery of the principal one being very rough hewn, so to speak. Having met the artist and subject on the ground, after seeing the pictures, our reporter at once recognized him by his portraits, although the gorgeous apparel of the latter was substituted by the very ordinary raiment of civilization. Baskets, moccasins, Indian cradles, and a carving of an animal's head, which was probably to adorn the prow of a canoe, were also to be seen.

A BABY SHOW, POULTRY AND DOMESTIC ART

Outside the next tent there were many well-dressed matrons, with infants in gaudy and often tasteful attire and mounted upon the peculiar cradles of the race. A ticket upon the drapery of one cherub marked 'first prize' revealed that a baby show formed part of the exhibition. The winner was a burly cherub of two months, which weighed ten pounds at birth, and has made excellent progress since. Before entering the tent, which is devoted to female industry, there are the poultry exhibits, close by, to see-white turkeys, geese, ducks and fowl, all excellent in their kind, so far as size and plumpness are concerned at all events. Within the canvas of the department above mentioned the reporter quails at the task involved in anything like an intelligent description, and can only give a general notice, with special mention of a few articles brought particularly to his notice. There a quilts, dresses, and robes, and petticoats and domestic drapery of many sorts, in wool and silk and other fabric, and a high degree of skill and taste was lavished upon many of the articles. Then there was the beadwork – in cushions and stands, candlesticks and brackets, mirror and mantel mountings, caps and moccasins, wall pockets and toilet cases – in most ornate and dazzling array, and forming a rich source of Indian goods from which to select presents for friends across seas or anywhere, or material to add to treasuries of curios in our own land. Two fine Indian costumes are hung up on one corner. The Princess Louise, in tinted presentiment, looks down amiably upon the display from a beautifully beaded frame, and the women smile pleasantly as they point up to her. A healthy and intelligent looking girl of ten is indicated to our reporter as the maker of a handsome toilet cover in fine needel work. The wife

of Sam, brother of the valiant 'Big John,' shows with delight a silk dress she made from material bought by her husband when on the recent Lacrosse tour in England, and it has certainly lost nothing in the making. Celia Flints-that is the name phonetically– a sister of 'Big John,' is a large exhibitor of beautiful bead work. In that line, among the nicest pieces are a toy parlor set by Joe Williams' wife, and a treadmill and the most artistic and best designed is a cottage, the effect of which is not improved by the disproportionately sized tenants and piano that it contains. A quilt is grotesquely inscribed in an admixture of capitals and small letters that would put a proof reader into a fit-'kanawake Sex Tenper 28 1883 Nenetonkie Rentewation Thennie.'

AMUSEMENTS

Yesterday's programme of amusements comprised – log rolling in the water; tug of war, Caughnawaga against all other Indians, won by the former in three straight; war and snake dances, which many could not see for the crowd that filled the tent where they took place; Indian ponies' races, music and organ recitals; the Onondaga Indian band in showy uniform playing excellently throughout the day. Last night there was a promenade concert, and this afternoon there will be canoe races, egg and sack races, a champion lacrosse match between the Royal Caughnawagas and the Cornwall Indians, formal opening ceremonies, closing speeches and other attractions.

THE SECOND DAY – A LARGE CROWD AND A FINE TIME

The fame of Caughnawaga and its exhibition seems to have been successfully spread between Friday night and Saturday morning, as all the trains for the village were crowded on the latter day. Over 4,000 people had entered the gate before the close of the exhibition on Saturday evening. Mentioning the gate, it was itself a feature of the show – a handsome evergreen arch, inscribed in white letters on a scarlet banner – 'Welcome to Caughnawaga. Speed the plough.'

AMUSEMENTS.

A first-rate bill of amusements throughout the day divided with the exhibits the attention of visitors. War, snake and other aboriginal dances were given by the Indians, exciting a large amount of amused interest. A lacrosse match between the Caughnawaga and the Cornwal Indian teams was won by the former in three straight games. Mr. Walbank, Honorary President of the Exhibition, has kindly guaranteed championship flags to the winners.

The Indian pony race was won by John Jocks, with T. Phillips a good second, and in exhibition of horsemanship James Bruce rode a horse of his own rearing and training, 1,000 yards against time in one minute and forty seconds. A mile race between members of different tribes were won by John Lefebvre, of Caughnawaga; Louis Solomon, of St. Regis, second; Magaspe, of Oka, third. The egg race was won by White Eagle; T.B. Jocks, second; Michael Jacobs, third. A half-mile canoe race failed to bring out

any outside tribes as intended, and two crews of Caughnawaga Indians contested it. The 'Star' commanded by Louis Nortin, defeated the 'La Croix,' by M. Nortin, in a struggle whose issue was doubtful throughout, so close was it. Dancing to the harp and violin was well patronized all day in a tent set apart for the purpose.

ODDS AND ENDS.

the tent containing relics of the olden days, as far back as the French occupation, attracted throngs of visitors. This would have been doubly interesting however, had there been a descriptive catalogue of the articles, or even some one conversant with their history present to show them. They comprised weapons, implements, pipes, saddles, and bits of costume, together with plans of former tribal occupation as well as of the Caughnawaga reservation executed by Mr. Walbank.

The prize saddle horse – a handsome and kind Arabian – was much admired as he was driven and led about the grounds. Everybody admired the fine-looking fellows composing the Onondaga brass band, whose music was in keeping with their appearance. One of them whom our reporter met in the agricultural tent was very much pleased at receiving a copy of that day's Witness, and he was given all that could be spared for his comrades.

CLOSING.

About five o'clock a procession of the members of the Executive Committee

and others was formed down in the village and marched to the grounds accompanied by the band. The platform was taken by Mr. McLea Walbank, Honorary President, Grand Chief Joseph Williams, Chief Jocks, Messrs. Thomas Jacobs, James Bruce, and J. Bte. Delormier, members of Executive Committee, together with Mssrs. J. Bte. Jocks, Thomas Phillips, Thomas Rocquet, Francis Leaf, Colonel Stevenson, Mayor Ward, of Cote St. Antoine, Alexander Gowdy, R.C. Smith, H.A. Kennedy, of London, England, a number of ladies and others. Mr. Walbank in a few words, thanked the visitors in the name of the Iroquois of Caughnawaga for their presence, and said they could not go away and say that Indians cannot become farmers. If they would go to the farms on the reservation they would find them well kept.

Mr. J.K. Ward moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Walbank for his energetic and successful management of the exhibition. Mr. Gowdey, in seconding the motion, which passed with cheers, added his warm commendation of the work accomplished by Mr. Walbank and his associates on the committee.

Mr. R.C. Smith, advocate, being called upon, said it was a privilege he little expected to have the opportunity of addressing the people of Caughnawaga under such happy circumstances. The exhibition was one of which any commumity might well be proud. It was not merely creditable for its display of Indian curiosities and handiwork, but in the great excellence of the agricultural products shown. All who saw were proud of their progress, and the event was an important step, elevating the Indians to the full status of citizens of the Dominion. He hoped to see them not only relieved from the restrictions that now hampered them, but that they might even surpass their white neighbours, of whom they were not behind many now and ahead of some. He closed by moving a vote of thanks to Chief Jocks and Jacobs.

Even at a simple agricultural exposition, the Canadians could not leave politics out of things. The Kanienkehaka had ignored the Indian Act for years. They kept sending petitions to Ottawa demanding that it be recalled. However, the Canadian government still thought that the Kanienkehaka wanted to become Canadian citizens.

After the exposition was over prizes were passed out to many of the competitors and participants. Reading the list of winners, one comes across many names of ancestors of modern day Mohawk people:

CLASS I

Stallions – 1st, Mrs. M. Thires; 2nd, L. Leborne

Brood mare and foal – 1st, Thomas Patton; 2nd, B. Delormier

Farm team, – 1st, Isaac Claus; 2nd, F. Hemlock

Filly, two years – 1st, E. Parquis; 2nd, L. Jacob.

Driving team – 1st, James Bruce.

Saddle Horse – 1st, Thomas Phillips;
2nd, John Diournme.

CLASS II

Bull – 1st, John Diournme;
2nd, P. Onakarantethe.

Milch Cow – 1st, Isaac Claus;
2nd, D. Takarihtontie.

Heifer, two years – 1st, B. Delormier

Heifer, one year – 2nd, Isaac Claus.

Special prize twin Bull Calves –
Mrs. John Leclaire.

CLASS IV

Sheep – 1st, Jos. Kataratiron.

CLASS IV.

Boar – 1st, Thomas Phillips.

Sow – 1st, Thomas Phillips;
2nd, Joseph Delisle, ex-chief.

Pig – 1st, Thomas Phillips

Pig – 1st, Thomas Phillips;
2nd, B. Delormier.

Litter of pigs – 1st, Jos. Delisle, ex-chief.

Spring pigs – 1st, Peter Parquis;
2nd, S. Thanekirens.

CLASS V.

Fowls, Brahmas – 1st, J. Montour;
2nd, M. Montour.

Fowls, Plymouth Rocks – 1st,
M. Deerhouse

Fowls, Dorkings – 1st, J. Montour.

Fowls, Leghorns – 1st, M. Deerhouse.

Fowls, bantams – 1st, Dr. Jacobs;
2nd, Thomas Mitchell.

Turkeys – 1st, Dr. Jacobs;
2nd, John J. Deere.

Geese – 1st, A. Antonion;
2nd, Jos. Kataratiron.

Ducks – 1st, Charles Deere;
2nd, Thomas Maurice.

CLASS VI.

Wheat, white spring – 1st, B. Delormier;
2nd, L. Leborne.

Wheat, red spring – 1st, L. Leclaire.

Barley – 1st, Isaac Claus;
2nd, B. Delormier.

Oats – 1st, Thos. Patton;
2nd, Isaac Claus.

Pease – 1st, F. Bellefeuille;
2nd, B. Delormier.

Indian corn – 1st, F. Daillebout.

Beans – 1st, Jos. Tennikatie;
2nd, Karakevenhaive.

Buckwheat – 1st, B. Delormier;
2nd P. Mitchell.

Potatoes, Early Rose – 1st,
P. Onakaratethe;
2nd, Kanekenawi.

Potatoes, any sort – 1st, M. Montour;
2nd, W. Serohesi;
3rd, Mrs. Parqui.

Turnips – 1st, J. Montour;
2nd, P. Mitchell,
3rd, P. Onakarakiti.

Carrots – 1st, A. Autonion;
2nd, P. Onakarakiti.

Pumpkins – 1st, Jos. Foster;
2nd, E. Tekanereroker;
3rd, M. Deerhouse.

CLASS VII.

Butter, rolls – 1st, Mrs. T. Maurice.

Butter, prints – 1st, Mrs. Isaac Claus;
2nd, Mrs. B. Delormier.

CLASS IX

Apples – 1st, Mrs. F. Laronde;
2nd, F. Bellefeuille.

Cabbage – J. Montour.

Cucumbers – 1st, Asennase;
2nd, A. Lachierre.

Tomatoes – 1st, Chief Montour;
2nd, T. Phillips.

Beets – 1st, P. Mitchell;
2nd, L. Leclaire.

Onions – 1st, M. Montour;
2nd, Asennase;
3rd, P. Mitchell.

Sweet corn – 2nd, T. Phillips;
3rd, B. Delormier.

Cider – 1st, J. Bruce.

Preserved fruits – 1st, Mrs. Chief Jocks;
2nd, Mrs. B. Delormier.

Bakers' bread – 1st, James Bruce.

Bakers' cakes – 1st, James Bruce.

Bread, home-made – 1st, Mrs. Isaac Claus;
2nd, Mrs. T. Maurice.

Cakes, home-made – 1st, Mrs. T. Maurice;
2nd, Mrs. Deere.

Grapes – 1st, F. Daillebout;
2nd, A. Lachierre.

Grape wine – 1st, Mrs. B. Delormier.

CLASS X.

Moccasins, plain – 1st, Mrs. C. Leborne.

Moccasins, fancy – 1st, Mrs. Parquis.

Lacrosses – 1st, P. Canoe;
1st, P. Thoronhioten.

Indian bark house – 1st, Mary Ann Saur.

Collection of bark work – 1st, Z. Vincent.

Agricultural implements – 1st,
B. Delormier;
2nd, Isaac Claus.

CLASS XI.

Coarse bead work – 1st, Mrs. Jos. Williams,
Mrs. Jos. Laronde and Miss L. Jocks;
2nd, Mrs. Lefebvre and Mrs. Jos. Barnes.

Fine bead work – 1st, Mrs. Jos. Williams,
and Mrs. Jos. Laronde;
2nd, Mrs. A. Delisle.

Needle work – 1st, Mrs. M. Lefebvre,
Miss Williams, Miss. M. Laronde,
Miss L. Jocks, Mrs. D. Jacobs.

Collection of bead work – 1st,
Mrs. Jos. Williams;
2nd, Mrs. Jos. Laronde.

Hair work – 1st, Mrs. F. Jacobs.

Crochet – Mrs. Kasennanoran.

Patched silk quilt – Mrs. J. Laronde.

Penmanship – 1st, Mary L. Maffre.

Free hand drawing, plain – 1st,
Miss. M. Laronde.

Free hand drawing, color – 1st,
Miss M. Laronde;
2nd, Z. Vincent.

1

2. The Quebec Bridge Disaster

The Dominion Bridge Company Hired Kahnawake Ironworkers. In 1889 the Canadian Pacific Railway decided to construct a bridge over the St. Lawrence River. The Canadian Pacific Railway contracted the Dominion Bridge Company of Lachine, Quebec to construct the bridge. The bridge was to have one end built on Kahnawake land. The Kahnawake people gave the Canadian Pacific Railway permission to build the bridge, on condition that the company hire Mohawk laborers to work on the structure. A letter written by a Dominion Bridge Company official describes the relationship between the Dominion Bridge Company and the ironworkers of Kahnawake:

> The records of the company for this bridge show that it was our understanding that we would employ these Indians as ordinary day laborers unloading materials. They were dissatified with this arrangement and would come out on the bridge itself every chance they got. It was quite impossible to keep them off. As the work progressed, it became apparent to all concerned that these Indians were very odd in that they did not have any fear of heights. If not watched, they would climb up into the spans and walk around up there as cool and collected as the toughest of our riveters, most of whom at that period were old sailingship men especially picked

for their experience in working aloft. These Indians were as agile as goats. They would walk a narrow beam high up in the air with nothing below them but the river, which is rough there and ugly to look down on, and it wouldn't mean any more to them than walking on the solid ground. They seemed immune to the noise of the riveting, which goes right through you and is often enough in itself to make newcomers to construction feel sick and dizzy. They were inquisitive about the riveting and were continually bothering our foremen by requesting that they be allowed to take a crack at it. This happens to be the most dangerous work in all construction, and the highest paid. Men who want to do it are rare and men who can do it are even rarer, and in good construction years there are sometimes not enough of them to go around. We decided it would be mutually advantageous to see what these Indians could do, so we picked out some and gave them a little training, and it turned out that putting riveting tools in their hands was like putting ham with eggs. In other words, they were natural-born bridgemen. Our records do not show how many we trained on this bridge. There is a tradition in the company that we trained twelve, or enough to form three riveting gangs.

In his essay, The Mohawks in High Steel, Joseph Mitchell describes the kind of work that was done by the early ironworkers:

In the erection of steel structures, whether bridge or building, there are three main divisions of workers – raising gangs, fitting-up gangs, and riveting gangs. The steel comes to a job already cut and built up into various kinds of columns and beams and girders; the columns are the perpendicular pieces and the beams and girders are the horizontal ones. Each piece has two or more groups of holes bored through it to receive bolts and rivets, and each piece has a code mark chalked or painted on it, indicating where it should go in the structure. Using a crane or a derrick, the men in the raising gang hoist the pieces up and set them in position and join them by running bolts through a few of the holes in them; these bolts are temporary. Then the men in the fitting-up gang come along; they are divided into plumbers and bolters. The plumbers tighten up the pieces with guy wires and turnbuckles and make sure that they are in plumb. The bolters put in some more temporary bolts. Then the riveting gangs come along; one raising gang and one fitting-up gang will keep several riveting gangs busy. There are four men in a riveting gang- a heater, a sticker-in, a bucker-up, and a riveter. The heater lays some wooden planks across a couple of beams, making a platform for the portable, coal-burning forge in which he heats the rivets. The three other men hang a plank scaffold by ropes from the steel on which they are going to work. There are usually six two-by-ten planks in a scaffold, three on each side of the steel, affording just room enough to work; one false step and it's goodbye Charlie. The three men climb down with their tools and take their positions on the scaffold; most often the sticker-in and the bucker-up stand on one side

and the riveter stands or kneels on the other. The heater, on his platform, picks a red-hot rivet off the coals in his forge with tongs and tosses it to the sticker-in, who catches it in a metal can. At this stage, the rivet is shaped like a mushroom; it has a buttonhead and a stem. Meanwhile, the bucker-up has unscrewed and pulled out one of the temporary bolts joining two pieces of steel, leaving the hole empty. The sticker-in picks the rivet out of his can with tongs and sticks it in the hole and pushes it in until the buttonhead is flushed with the steel on his side and the stem protrudes from the other side, the riveter's side. The sticker-in steps out of the way. The bucker-up fits a tool called a dolly bar over the button-head and holds it there, bracing the rivet. Then the riveter presses the cupped head of his pneumatic hammer against the protruding stem end of the rivet, which is still red-hot and malleable, and turns on the power and forms a buttonhead on it. This operation is repeated until every hole that can be got at from the scaffold is riveted up. Then the scaffold is moved. The heater's platform stays in one place until all the work within a rivet-tossing radius of thirty to forty feet is completed. The men on the scaffold know each other's jobs and are interchangeable; the riveter's job is bone-shaking and nerve-racking, and every so often one of the others swaps with him for a while. In the days before pneumatic hammers, the riveter used two tools, a cupped die and an iron maul; he placed the die over the stem end of the red-hot rivet and beat on it with the maul until he squashed the stem end into a buttonhead. [2]

After the Canadian Pacific Railway bridge was completed from Lachine to Kahnawake, crews of ironworkers left to work on the Soo Bridge at Sault St. Marie. It was while working on this job that the Kanienkehaka began using the job as a training ground for apprentice ironworkers. As apprentices were trained new crews were formed. As the new crews were formed, old crews would be broken up. This way each crew had a balance of old workers and new.

Kahnawake Lost Thirty Three Men In The Quebec Bridge Disaster. By the year 1907 there were seventy skilled Mohawk ironworkers. A large crew of these ironworkers were working in 1907 on the Quebec Bridge, a span crossing the St. Lawrence River at Quebec City. This bridge had a radical design. Work on the bridge had begun in 1899 by the Phoenix Bridge Company.

The job had proved difficult. There were numerous engineering obstacles and minor accidents. On August 29, 1907 tragedy struck the Quebec Bridge site. The southern portion of the incomplete span collapsed. Ninety six men died as a result of the accident. Included were thirty three Mohawk ironworkers from Kahnawake:

> The work appeared to be going smoothly just as planned when suddenly with no forewarning the sounds of rivet heads

An early construction site where Mohawk men worked

began to shear and pop like so many explosions. First a slow tremor and slight swaying left to right, then a gradual but inevitable movement towards the center of the wide river. Time seemed to stop indefinetly until the grinding murmur grew into a low roar building up to a tremendous thunder as thousands of tons of steel began to descent. Amidst the pitiful cries of men doomed, everything came crashing down three hundred feet to the turbulent waters below. A mighty earthquake upheaval was heard for miles around as steel, timber and concrete met the dark water. Then a long and eerie silence settled upon the tragic scene broken only by a few mournful echoes of pain and torment of men slipping into death. A few thousand yards away women could be seen rushing towards the mass of tangled steel, running madly to see what was left of this superstructure to be known infamously as the remains of the Quebec Bridge. [3]

Only five men from Kahnawake who had been working on the Quebec Bridge were not killed. Two had not reported for work on August 29th. Three were on the span when it fell but had not been crushed.

In 1907 there was only one telephone in Kahnawake. Families waited anxiously around this phone to hear if their relatives had been hurt or killed.

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T. K. BRUCE
MITCHELL OLLIBUE
JAMES D'AILLEBOUST
JOE D'AILLEBOUST
ANGUS D'AILLEBOUST
JOE LEFEBVRE
TOM B. JOCKS
JOE DEER
TOM DEER
MIKE ROBINS
ANGUS LEAF
JOHN NORTON
ANGUS BLUE
PETER D'AILLEBOUST
ANDREW RICE
SOLOMON ANGUS
LOUIS LEE
JOSE D'AI THE
JAMES MITCHELL
JOE FRENCH
NAPOLEON LAPRUNE
LOUIS B. JOCKS
JAMES GOODLEFF
ANGUS MONTAUR
LOUIS D'AILLEBOUST
JOHN C. MORRIS
F. S. KIRBEY
LOUIS D'AILLEBOUST
LOUIS DEER
JOHN JACKS
JOE DIONE
JOE MITCHELL
LOUIS ALBANEY
WA KE RON A IA KE IA RA KWA KE
TE NI KON ION TION KWE
TA KEN E IA SE
NE TIA TON TA RI KON
SON TONS KWEN NE
AUGEST 20TH 1907
Notman & Son Montreal

As news trickled into Kahnawake, the whole community went into mourning.

As a result of the Quebec Bridge Disaster, the women of the community forced the men to promise that they would no longer all work on the same job. The crews would split up and work a number of jobs throughout North America in such places as New York City, Detroit, Quebec City, Toronto and eventually around the world. The center span of the Quebec Bridge fell in 1916, but on this occasion no workers from Kahnawake were involved. When the Bridge finally opened on December 8, 1917 it had cost $22,500,000 and numerous human lives.

3. Brooklyn, New York

In 1912 a Kahnawake ironworker by the name of Paul Diabo traveled to New York City to find work. He was joined in 1915 by John Diabo who got a job on the Hell's Gate Bridge. Soon they were joined by two other Kahnawake ironworkers. By the 1920's three gangs of Mohawk ironworkers were working in New York City. They joined the Brooklyn and the Manhattan locals. They found lodgings in the Gowanus section of Brooklyn. Soon, the Kahnawake ironworkers realized that there was enough work in New York to justify working there for years. In the late 1920's families began moving into Gowanus and raising children away from Kahnawake.

Mitchell describes the Gowanus neighborhood in his study, The Mohawks in High Steel:

> North Gowanus is an old, sleepy, shabby neighborhood that lies between the head of the Gowanus Canal and the Borough Hall shopping district. There are factories in it, and coal tipples and junk yards, but it is primarily residential, and red-brick tenements and brownstone apartment houses are most numerous. The Caughnawagas all live within ten blocks of each other, in an area bounded by Court Street on the west, Schermerhorn Street on the north, Fourth Avenue on the east, and Warren Street on the south. They live in the best houses on the best blocks. As a rule, Caughnawaga women are good housekeepers and keep their apartments Dutch-clean. Most of them decorate a mantel or a wall with heirlooms brought down from the reservation – a drum, a set of rattles, a mask, a cradleboard. Otherwise, their apartments look much the same as those of their white neighbors. A typical family group consists of husband and wife and a couple of children and a female relative or two. After they get through school on the reservation, many Caughnawaga girls come down to North Gowanus and work in factories. Some work for the Fred Goat Company, a metal-stamping factory in the neighborhood, and some work for the Gem Safey Razor Corporation, whose factory is within walking distance.
>
> More than half of the North Gowanus housewives spend their spare time

making souvenirs. They make a lot of them. They specialize in dolls, handbags, and belts, which they ornament with colored beads, using variations of ancient Iroquois designs such as the sky dome, the night sun, the day sun, the fern head, the evergrowing tree, the world turtle, and the council fire.

4

Mohawk Children Growing Up In Brooklyn Developed A Different World View. Raising a family in Brooklyn had tremendous effects on Kahnawake and the whole Mohawk Nation. A new generation of Mohawk children were raised away from Kahnawake. These children failed to learn much of the history of the Six Nations and the language of their ancestors. The Brooklyn Kanienkehaka developed different ideas about life and different values than the people at home in Kahnawake. As an example of the division that began to develop as a result of the move to Brooklyn, Joseph Mitchell quotes an old Kanienkehaka, Oroniakete. He was one of the first ironworkers to move to Brooklyn:

> I feel very low in my mind. I've got to go back to the reservation. I've run out of excuses and I can't put it off much longer. I got a letter from my wife today and she's disgusted with me. "I'm sick and tired of begging you to come home," she said. "You can sit in Brooklyn until your tail takes root." The trouble is, I don't want to go. That is, I do and I don't. I'll try to explain what I mean. An Indian high-steel man, when he first leaves the reservation to work in the States, the homesickness just about kills him. The first few years, he goes back as often as he can. Every time he finishes a job, unless he's thousands of miles away, he goes back. If he's working in New York, he drives up weekends, and it's a twelve-hour drive. After a while, he gets married and brings his wife down and starts a family, and he doesn't go back so often. Oh, he most likely takes the wife and children up for the summer, but he doesn't stay with them. After three or four days, the reservation gets on his nerves and he highballs it back to the States. He gets used to the States. The years go by. He gets to be my age, maybe a little younger, and one fine morning he comes to the conclusion he's a little too damned stiff in the joints to be walking a naked beam five hundred feet in the air. Either that, or some foreman notices he hasn't got a sure step any longer and takes him aside and tells him a few home truths. He gives up high-steel work and he packs his belongings and he takes his money out of the bank or the postal savings, what little he's been able to squirrel away, and he goes on back to the reservation for good. And it's hard on him. He's used to danger, and reservation life is very slow; the biggest thing that ever happens is a funeral. He's used to jumping around from job to job, and reservation life boxes him in.
>
> There's not much he can do to occupy the time. He can sit on the highway and watch the cars go by, or he can sit on the riverbank and fish for eels and watch the

boats go by, or he can weed the garden, or he can go to church, or he can congregate in the grocery stores with the other old retired high-steel men and play cards and talk. That is, if he can stand it. You'd think those old men would talk about the cities they worked in, the sprees they went on, the girls that follow construction all over the country that they knew, the skyscrapers and bridges they put up – only they don't. After they been sitting around the reservation five years, six years, seven years, they seem to turn against their high-steel days. Some of them, they get to be as Indian as all hell; they won't even speak English any more; they make out they can't understand it.

On the other hand, there's things I look forward to. I look forward to eating real Indian grub again. Such as O-nen-sto, or corn soup. That's the Mohawk national dish. Some of the women make it down here in Brooklyn, but they use Quaker corn meal. The good old women up on the reservation, they make it the hard way, the way the Mohawks were making it five hundred years ago. They shell some corn, and they put it in a pot with a handful of maple ashes and boil it. The lye in the ashes skins the hulls off the kernels, and the kernels swell up into big fat pearls. Then they wash off the lye. Then they put in some red kidney beans. Then they put in a pig's head; in the old days, if was a bear's head. Then they cook it until it's as thick as mud. And when it's cooking, it smells so good. If you were breathing your last, if you had the rattle in your throat, and the wind blew you a faint suggestion of a smell of it, you'd rise and walk. And I look forward to eating some Indian bread that's made with the same kind of corn. Down here, the woman always use Quaker meal. Indian bread is boiled, and it's shaped like a hamburger, and it's got kidney beans sprinkled through it. On the reservation, according to an oldtime custom, we have steak for breakfast every Sunday morning, whether we can afford it or not, and we pour the steak gravy on the Indian bread.

Growing up in Brooklyn was easy in some respects. The Brooklyn Kanienkehaka had access to all of the conveniences of the city: electricity, hot and cold running water, and numerous public conveniences. But growing up in Brooklyn meant growing up away from the traditions that had made the Kanienkehaka a great nation. Oroniakete knew this. He told Mitchell:

Another thing I look forward to, if I can manage it – I want to attend a longhouse festival. If I have to join to do so, I'll join. One night, the last time I was home, the longhousers were having a festival. I decided I'd go up to the Catholic graveyard that's right below the longhouse and hide in the bushes and listen to the music. So I snuck up there and waded through the thistles and the twitch grass and the Queen Anne's lace, and I sat down on a flat stone on the grave of an uncle of mine, Miles Diabo. My mother is in that graveyard, and my father, old Nazareth Diabo that I hardly even knew. They called him Nazzry. He was a pioneer high-steel Indian. He was away

from home the majority of the time, and he was killed in the disaster – when the Quebec Bridge went down. There's hundreds of high-steel men buried in there. The ones that were killed on the job, they don't have stones; their graves are marked with lengths of steel girders made into crosses. There's a forest of girder crosses in there. So I was sitting on Uncle Mile's stone, thinking of the way things go in life, and suddenly the people of the longhouse began to sing and dance and drum on their drums. They were singing Mohawk chants that came down from old, old Indian times. I could hear men's voices and women's voices and children's voices. The Mohawk language, when it's sung, it's beautiful to hear. Oh, it takes your breath away. A feeling ran through me that made me tremble; I had to take a deep breath to quiet my heart, it was beating so fast. I felt very sad; at the same time, I felt very peaceful. I thought I was all alone in the graveyard, and then who loomed up out of the dark and sat down beside me but an old high-steel man I had been talking with in a store that afternoon, one of the soreheads, an old man that fights every improvement that's suggested on the reservation, whatever it is, on the grounds it isn't Indian – this isn't Indian, that isn't Indian. So he said to me, "You're not alone up here. Look over there." I looked where he pointed, and I saw a white shirt in among the bushes. And he said, "Look over there," and I saw a cigarette gleaming in the dark. "The bushes are full of Catholics and Protestants," he said. "Every night there's a longhouse festival, they creep up here and listen to the singing. It draws them like flies." So I said, "The longhouse music is beautiful to hear, isn't it?" And he remarked it ought to be, it was the old Indian music. 5

Village of Kahnawake

W.

Chapter 24
1920 - 1930
A Time Of Challenge, Crisis And Change

The 1920's were a time of challenge, crisis and change for the Kanienkehaka. It was a time of challenge at Akwesasne, a time of crisis at the Six Nations reserve and a time of change at Kahnawake. The 1920's were a time of conflict. The American and Canadian governments made increased efforts to destroy the already threatened culture of the Kanienkehaka. They tried to force the Kanienkehaka to become citizens of Canada or the United States.

This chapter discusses:

1. American Citizenship For Akwesasne
2. The R.C.M.P. Seizure Of Wampum At Six Nations
3. The Paul K. Diabo Case
4. The Grand Council In Kanienkeh

1. American Citizenship For Akwesasne

In 1924, the Congress of the United States declared that all native people within its borders were American citizens. Since that time, the State of New York and the Federal Government of the United States have regarded Mohawk people residing in the United States as American citizens. In the eyes of the United States, the Mohawk Nation no longer existed. By what power and under what authority did the United States have to dissolve a nation that has existed for centuries?

The Kanienkehaka are a nation. They have been one since long before contact with the Europeans. Some people, such as the anthropologist William Fenton, argue that the Iroquois people were tribal. Fenton states that the village government was more important than the national government. Akwesasne, such people say, is not part of a nation that meets to discuss national affairs. It is a tribe unto itself and without any links to a national group. However, Akwesasne did and still has a national consciousness as part of the Mohawk Nation.

By 1924 The United States Thought That Akwesasne Had Lost It's National Consciousness. By the year 1924 the United States government thought that national consciousness had disappeared at Akwesasne. The American government thought that Akwesasne had only a tribal consciousness. The United States knew of the damage that the Seven Indian Nations Treaty had caused in Akwesasne, and of the division created in the community by the tribal trustees. The next step was to force American citizenship onto the people of Akwesasne. The United States government ignored the fact that Akwesasne was trying to keep alive the traditions of the Kanienkehaka and the Great Law of Peace.

Some Damage Had Been Done To The Mohawk Culture At Akwesasne. By this time some damage had been done to the Mohawk culture at Akwesasne. The State of New York controlled the schools and the tribal council. The State could appoint trustees, deny the right of the people to meet in council, and even prevent the holding of readings of the Great Law of Peace and traditional social dances.

Mohawk people still had the desire and felt the need to communicate and educate one another. Therefore in the early1920's a wampum bearer was sent out from Akwesasne, Kahnawake and Kanesatake asking that the Six Nations reserve send information to the Kanienkehaka that could be useful in educating the people about the Great Law of Peace.

The Six Nations Reserve Sent The Seth Newhouse Document To Mohawk Territory. The Six Nations reserve had an important manuscrip written by Seth Newhouse. The manuscript contained the story of the founding of the Great Law of Peace, along with an account of the law itself. Newhouse had written the Law down when he was an old man. He hoped that this might help reserve the traditions of the Confederacy. The Seth Newhouse Traditional History of the Six Nations Confederacy was sent to Kahnawake, Akwesasne and Kanesatake for the education of future generations. Together with the pressures being felt from the Canadian and American governments, this manuscript had a tremendous effect on the Mohawk Nation. It signalled a reaffirmation of the basic goodness of the Great Law of Peace, and the determination of the Kanienkehaka to survive.

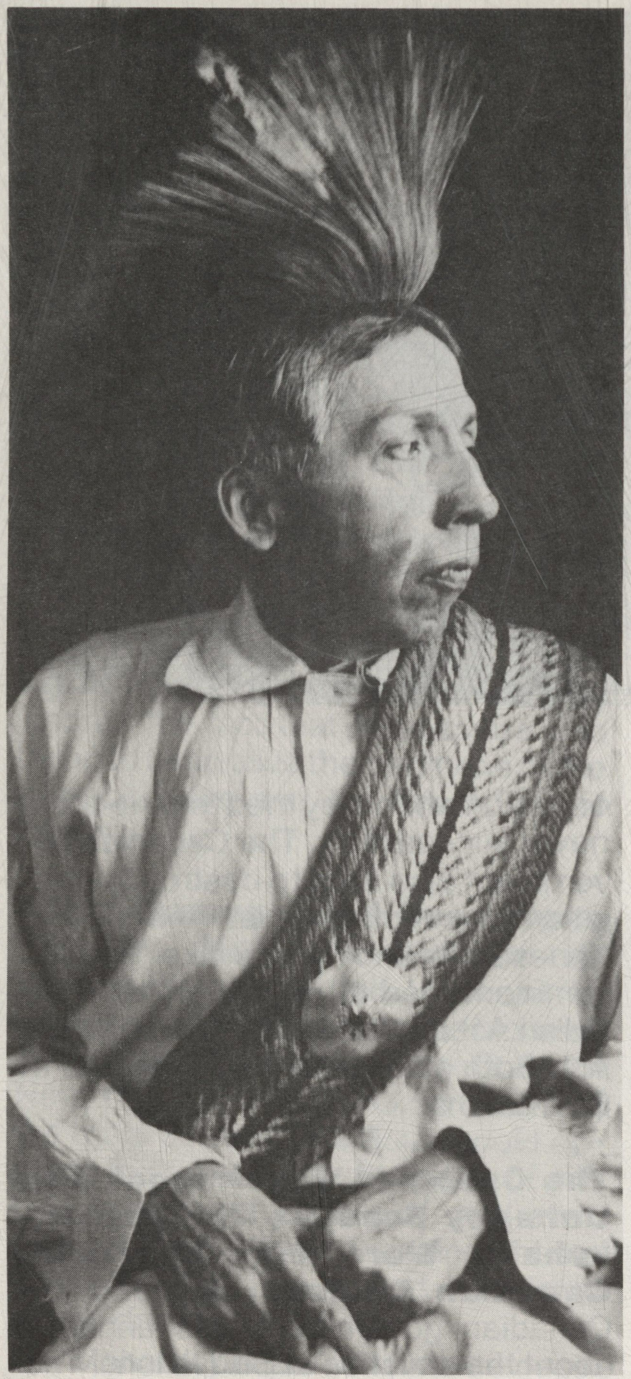
2. The R.C.M.P. Seizure Of Wampum At Six Nations

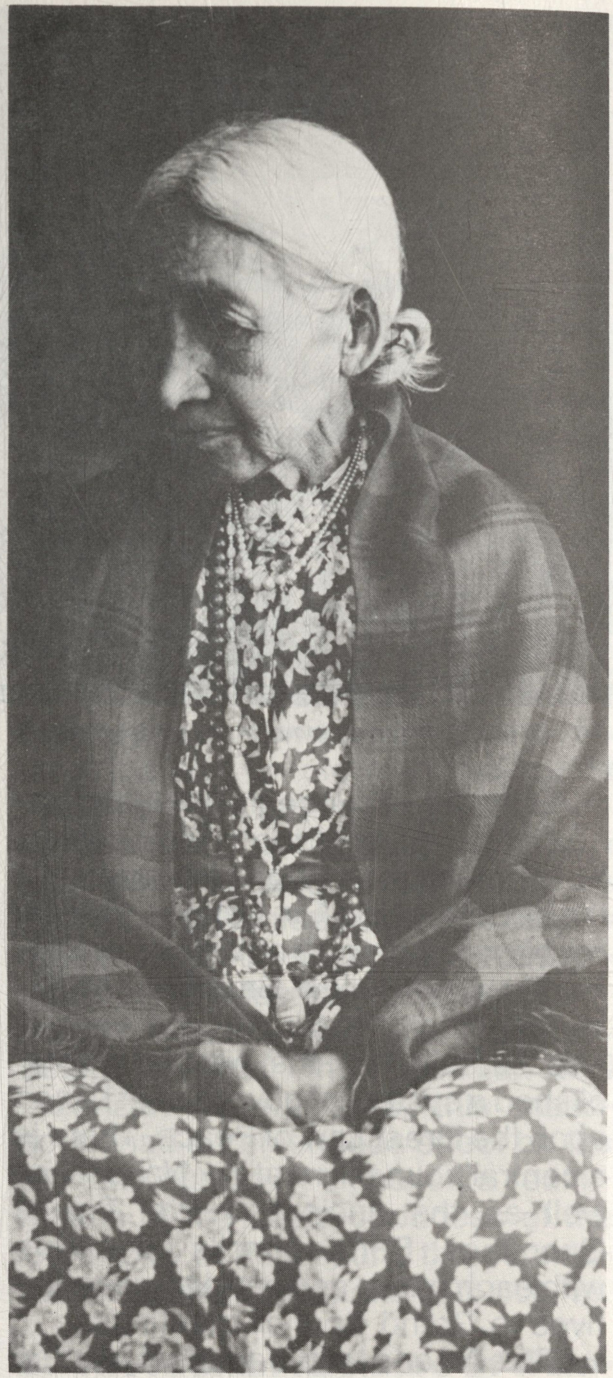
Six Nations Chiefs read wampum of the Confederacy

Even though Joseph Brant had betrayed the trust of the Kanienkehaka by attempting to sell land in Kanienkeh, the people of the Six Nations reserve preserved the spirit of the Great Law. They did not follow Brant's poor example. When the Six Nations reserve was established, the people reestablished a system of government based upon the Great Law of Peace. There is a central council fire at Six Nations, as well as the ancient central fire at Onondaga. Both councils cooperate with each other, and send representatives to Grand Council meetings.

The American government wanted to destroy the traditional government at Onondaga. There were numerous occasion when they tried to do this, but never successfully. The Canadian government also tried to destroy the traditional governments at Akwesasne, Kanesatake and Kahnawake. The government tried to do this through the Indian Act and the Indian Advancement Act. Both acts were totally ignored at Six Nations.

The Canadian Government Was Unhappy Because The Kanienkehaka Were Not Becoming Canadian Citizens. By 1924 the Canadian government was unhappy about the situation at Six Nations. The Iroquois people of that community and particularly the Kanienkehaka, were





Six Nations chief and clan mother: 1920's

Six Nations traditional council, before the R.C.M.P. invasion.

not choosing to become Canadian citizens. According to the Indian Act, the governor general of Canada can abolish traditional forms of government and force native people to accept the Indian Act and the Band Council form of government. In September of 1924, Lieutenant Colonel Morgan and two Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables appeared at a meeting of the traditional council of chiefs at Six Nations. They informed the people that according to an order in council of the government of Canada, the traditional chiefs were banished from the Council House at Brantford. The people were then told that an elective council of twelve was to take the place of the traditional council. This elective council was not in fact elected. They were all appointed by the governor general of Canada.

The R.C.M.P. Seized The Wampum Of The Confederacy. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police then stormed into the council house and seized the wampum of the Confederacy. This wampum had been brought to Six Nations at the time of migration after the American War of Independence. The Canadian government knew that this

Traditional ceremony and dance at Six Nations

Announcement of Indian Act elections at Six Nations, 1924.

First Council at Six Nations elected under the Indian Act.

wampum was the symbol of the Confederacy and that it may be used as a symbol of defiance against the Band Council. The R.C.M.P. officers in addition stole all of the available loose wampum from the Six Nations people. They feared that new wampum would be made.

What the R.C.M.P. and the Canadian government failed to realize is that the Great Law of Peace is not wampum. Wampum symbolizes the Great Law, but the Law continues whether or not wampum is available. The people were upset by this illegal seizure, just as they were upset by the Canadian government's betrayal. Nevertheless, the Law survived. The people at Six Nations rallied around the movement to remove the illegal Band Council from office.

The Canadian Government's Actions Were A Violation Of The Two Row Wampum Treaty. R.C.M.P. constables were stationed at Six Nations as agents of the Canadian government to force the people to accept the Indian Act and the Band Council form of government. The people persisted in refusing to deal with the Indian Act. They sent numerous petitions to the parliaments of England and Canada

to have the police and the "council of puppets" removed from the reserve. The Canadian government's actions at Six Nations were a direct violation of the Two Row Wampum Treaty and all known precepts of international law. By 1924 the Canadian government had shown native people what the policy of the government was. Either native people accept the Indian Act and eventually become Canadian citizens, or else force will be used against them to make them yield. In delaying with the federal government and the Indian Act, the Kanienkehaka could expect no justice.

3. The Paul K. Diabo Case

Paul K. Diabo began traveling to the United States as an ironworker in 1912. He principally worked in New York City, along with the growing number of Kanienkehaka who were going to New York City to find work. Unlike some of his fellow workers, Diabo was a boomer. He worked from job to job, while his family remained in Kahnawake.

Ironworkers Had Trouble With The American Department Of Immigration. By the middle of the 1920's the ironworkers knew that they were going to have difficulty with the United States Department of Immigration. Diabo was selected by the Department of Immigration to be a test case against the Kanienkehaka. On February 26, 1956 he was arrested in Philadelphia as an illegal alien.

The United States and Canada both have immigration laws that require foreigners to apply for special permits in order to work in these countries. The United States government was claiming that Paul Diabo was a Canadian citizen and needed to apply for a permit. Diabo was a Kanienkehaka, not a Canadian citizen, and did not apply for a permit. Therefore, the United States wanted to deport Paul K. Diabo from the country.

The Diabo Court Case Went To The Favor Of The Kanienkehaka. The judge that heard the case against Paul Diabo was John Dickinson of Philadelphia. Diabo argued that the border between the United States and Canada meant nothing to him, because he was a Kanienkehaka. He reminded the court of Article III of the Jay Treaty of 1794 whereby the border between the United States and Canada was fixed:

> It is agreed that it shall at all times be free to His Majesty's subjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and also the Indians dwelling on either side of the boundary line, freely to pass and repass by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the two parties, in the continent of America, the country within the limits of

OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Received November 5, 1914

PERMIT

A TRUE COPY

Treasury Department,

Washington, D. C.

Referring to your letter of the 11th inst., addressed to the Secretary of the Interior, and by leave referred to this Department, in which you ask, in behalf of the Iroquois and other Indians in Canada, that they be relieved from all taxes or duties in their trade and intercourse with the people of the United States. I enclose herewith for your information that all Indians are free of duties passing or repassing the boundary lines of the United States and Canada, and also free of taxes, license in trading an selling beadwork, bark-work, baskets, snow shoes, moccasins, medicines, etc., etc., of their own manufacturing in premises.

A copy of Department reply thereto.

I am, very respectfully,

J. F. HORTHEY, Assistant.

the Hudson's Bay Company only excepted.

Diabo also invoked the provisions of the Treaty of 1796 which stated:

> That no stipulations in any treaty subsequently concluded by either of the contracting parties with any other State or Nation, or any Indian Tribe can be understood to derogate in any manner from the rights of free intercourse and commerce secured by the aforesaid third article by the treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation to the subjects of His Majesty and to the citizens of the United States and to the Indians dwelling on either side of the boundary line aforesaid; but that all the said persons shall remain at full liberty, freely to pass and repass by land or inland navigation and to the respective territories and countries of the contracting parties, on either side of the said boundary line, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other according to stipulations of the said third article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation.

The United States Immigration Office argued that both of these treaties were broken by the War of 1812 and were no longer in effect. Diabo then told the court that the War of 1812 was between the United States and Canada, and not the United States and the Kanienkehaka. The Treaty of Ghent which called for the final peace between the United States and Canada stated:

> The United States of America engaged to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilies with all the tribes or nations of Indians, with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively, all the possessions, rights and privileges which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in one thousand eight hundred and eleven previous to such hostilities.

Judge Dickinson heard both arguments and made the following decision in favor of the Kanienkehaka:

> The Indians have always been recognized by us as a Nation and as a race independent of our Governmental control in the ordinary sense of that phrase. In this sense they are an alien people, but at the same time we have likewise from our point of view felt toward them the relation of wardship. Territorially as a Nation they have always been an imperium in imperio, although we have from time to time negotiated treaties with them for the surrender to us of what they claimed to be their territory but which was otherwise always regarded by us as our territory. In like manner, we have from time to time allotted territory to them and protected them in its occupancy. This practice has given us the word reservations. Divisions of the Indian race into Nations of Tribes, have always been recognized. This had more than a merely enthnological significance. Maps and other publications of official authority are in existence showing the territorial distribution of the Indians and Tribal divisions and land occupancy. The areas indicated could never be more than approximate as the sites of the habitats

of the different tribes were ever in a state of shift. At the time the boundary line between the United States and the now Dominion of Canada was fixed and located by agreement with Great Britain, the line was run in large part through what may be termed Indian Territory in the sense of lands, the right of occupancy of which was recognized by both the contracting parties to be in the Indians. The boundary line to establish the respective territory of the United States and of Great Britain was clearly not intended to and just as clearly did not affect the Indians. It made no division of their Country. The Jay Treaty of 1794 recognized this fact in the provision that the Indians residing on either side of the line which as between the United States and Great Britain was established as a boundary line should be unaffected in their right to pass this line at will. It has been argued to us pro and con that this Treaty was abrogated by the War of 1812. We do not see that the rights of the Indians are in any way affected by the Treaty whether now existent or not. The reference to them was merely the recognition of their right which was wholly unaffected by the Treaty except that the contracting parties agreed with each other that each would recognize it. The right of the Indians remained whether the agreement continued or was ended. The question of the right of the relator to enter the territory of the United States does not turn upon any Treaty with Great Britain, although of course, if we have an agreement to permit him to enter, we will make good our promise, unless it has been duly revoked.

The turning point of the cause is thus to be sought in the answer to the question of whether the Indians are included among the members of the alien nations whose admission to our country is controlled and regulated by the existing Immigration Laws. The answer, it seems to us, is a negative one. From the Indian viewpoint he crosses no boundary line. For him this does not exist. This fact the United States has always recognized, and there is nothing in this legislation to work a change in our attitude. This does not mean that the United States could not exclude him but it does mean that the United States having recognized his right to go from one part of his Country to another unobstructed by a boundary line, which as to him does not exist, will not be taken to have denied this right unless the clear intention so to do appears. We do not find such denial in any of the cited exclusion Acts of Congress.

To afford the opportunity for appellate review, upon the relator giving bond to abide by any order made by the Court upon appeal duly taken, he is discharged from custody. [1]

The Case Was Appealed To A Higher Court. Dickinson's decision was an important one. He ruled that the Mohawk Nation was "imperium in imperio", this means that the Mohawk Nation is a country within a country. Dickinson was admitting that the Kanienkehaka are neither Americans or Canadians, but Mohawk members of the Six Nations Confederacy. The com-

Paul Diabo delegation in Washington, after winning the border trial.

missioner of Immigration, John McCandless, wanted to appeal the case to a higher court. The next court was the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. The case was not yet over for Paul K. Diabo. In October he would have to appear again.

The Kanienkehaka Worked Together To Raise Money For The New Court Case. The costs of hiring lawyers and researchers were enormous. Diabo was not representing only himself but the rights of the whole Mohawk Nation, the Six Nations and native people across the continent. During the two years span of time when Diabo was arrested and the case was finally settled, the Mohawk people all came together to support the case. Ironworkers gave a part of their salaries to help pay for the lawyers. Traditional people, Catholics and Protestants set aside their religious differences and had bake sales, raffles and penny fairs to raise funds. The whole nation cooperated and the people felt again the old power of unity in the Confederacy.

One of the most interesting fund raising efforts involved a group from Akwesasne and Kahnawake who put together a dramatization of the poem Hiawatha. This poem is called Hiawatha but it has nothing to do with the Haionwatha of the Confederacy. This Mohawk troupe traveled for almost a full year

putting on performances of the play, raising money for the case. Eventually, the play was produced in New York City as a small movie.

The Second Court Case Went To The Favor Of The Kanienkehaka. In October of 1927 John McCandless met Paul Diabo once again in court. The judges this time were Buffington, Wooley and Davis. The Circuit Court of Appeals agreed with the opinion of Dickinson. The three judges said that the Kanienkehaka are a separate "domestic" dependent nation. The court concluded the following:

> If, therefore, the independence of the United States and the fixing of its boundaries as provided by treaty was not affected by its subsequent entry into war, on how much stronger ground and reason can it be contended that the independence of the Indian to cross the boundary line passing through his own tribal territory was not affected when Great Britain and America entered the War of 1812. Both Great Britain and the United States have residing in them the Indians of the Six Nations, both on reservations where members of this tribe live and to them both countries hold the guardian relation pointed out by Chief Justice Marshall in words quoted above. So far as we are advised, neither Great Britain or the Dominion of Canada have denied to the Indians of the Six Nations resident in the United States passage across the boundary line, and if the Jay Treaty is in force, as we find it to be, good faith and the observing of the treaty calls for the same course of conduct by the United States. Finding no justification for the arrest and deportation of this man, the order of the court now discharging him is affirmed.

One of the assumptions that the Circuit Court of Appeals made was that the government of Canada was still honoring the terms of the Jay Treaty and the Treaty of Ghent. Specifically the judges wrote that:

> Neither Great Britain nor the Dominion of Canada have denied to the Indians of the Six Nations resident in the United States passage across the boundary line. [2]

In reality the government of Canada does not honor these treaties. Immigration officials of Canada constantly harass Mohawk people traveling across the borders that split Kanienkeh. Customs officials require Mohawk people to pay duty on purchases made in the United States. Both of these activities are contrary to the treaty rights honored by the Paul K. Diabo decision.

4. The Grand Council In Kanienkeh

Steps were taken by Ottawa in 1889 and 1906 to bring the Kanienkehaka even further under the Indian Act.

These moves were rejected by the women of Kahnawake, and by the majority of the population. A few Kanienkehaka went along with the Canadian government, but the majority rejected these moves. Nevertheless the government of Canada persisted and continued to force policies and unpopular decisions upon the Mohawk people.

The Kanienkehaka Turned To The Grand Council For Support. When a people are being oppressed by a foreign power they naturally turn to their nation for help. In the case of the Kanienkehaka, the Canadian government was the oppressor. The Kanienkehaka began reminding themselves of the power of the Mohawk Nation, and the ancient system of support of the Six Nations Confederacy. In the late 1920's the Kanienkehaka began to look once again to the Grand Council as a way of dealing with oppression and illegal attacks upon their sovereignty.

After the Paul K. Diabo trials in Philadelphia, the Kanienkehaka became even more aware of the need to reassert their traditional relationship within the Confederacy. For this reason, in 1927 the three traditional chiefs at Kahnawake initiated moves to bring the Grand Council to Mohawk territory. These three chiefs were Peter Canoe of the Wolf clan, Dominic Two Axe of the Turtle clan, and American Horse of the Bear clan.

A Longhouse Was Built In Kahnawake. In order to prepare for the event a longhouse was built in Kahnawake. This is the first time that a separate longhouse was constructed in the Kahnawake community. Traditionally of course people lived in longhouses. After people started to live in separate family houses, meetings were held either in the field in front of the Catholic Church, or in one of the Church buildings. Later, when a Canadian government building office was constructed in Kahnawake, meetings took place there as well. For the 1927 meetings of the Grand Council it was necessary to construct a longhouse that was separate from the buildings used by either the church or the Canadian government.

The community participated in the construction of the longhouse. The final work on the longhouse construction was reported on in the Montreal Gazette in June of 1927:

> Hence the stir and bustle yesterday in the vicinity of a newly erected frame building standing back from the road at Caughnawaga.
>
> This is the Long House. Considerable money and untold manual labor on the part of Caughnawaga chiefs and braves

Dominic Two-Axe

alike have gone into the building which will house the pow pow. All day yesterday, and far into the night, gangs were hard at work with hammer and saw, with paint pot and paint brush, putting the finishing touches to the structure which today will see the opening of the most important conference the Iroquois have known in decades.

The Gazette article also described the preparations made at Kahnawake for the upcoming council:

In the houses nearby, the women were busy in their kitchens. Special food must be proffered to the dignitaries of the tribes, who were speeding from New York State, Ontario and other parts of Quebec. The famed Indian corn bread, skilfully made from corn and red beans, was being fashioned into little loaves. Indian corn soup, a great tribal delicacy, was being watched as it simmered in hugh pots. Out on the common a husky young bull strode around majestically; it was his last day.

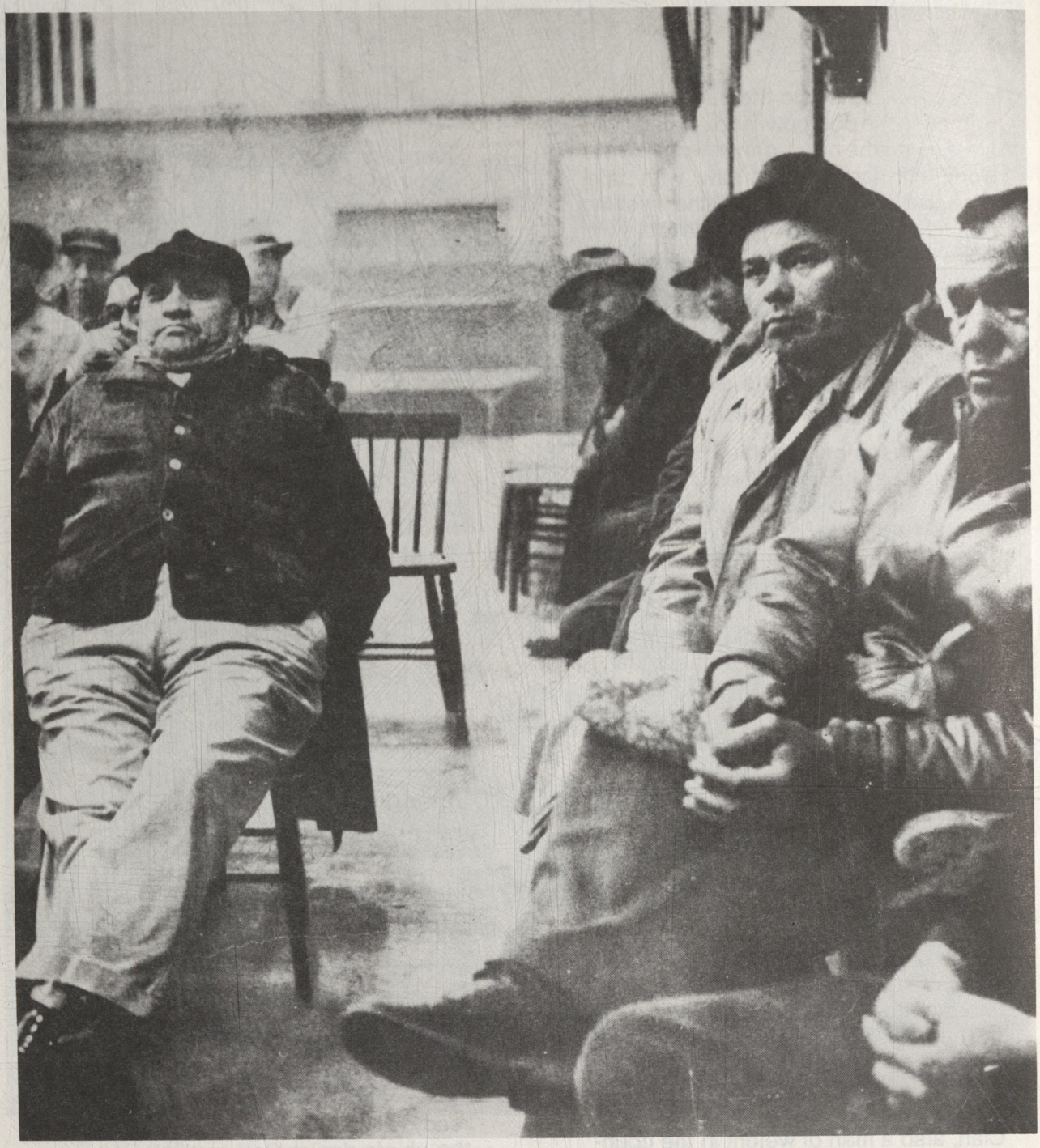
Directing all was Dominic Tekanihoken, known in these parts as Dominic Two Axes, grand chief of all the Iroquois. Aiding him were Chief American Horse, Chief Peter Canoe, both of Caughnawaga, and willing hands were extended by the first of the fifty-odd visitors from other parts expected. They were four important delegates from the Mohawks of the St. Regis reserve in New York State. They were headed by Chief Craus, of the Turtle Clan. And there was Chief Sa wa tis sa ren ho wa ne, of the Wolf Clan, also a man of weight in the councils. En route by train and automobile from Syracuse, Tonawanda, and Onondaga were parties of chiefs from American reserves. They are expected at noon today.

The Grand Council Met In Kahnawake. The Grand Council opened on June 29, 1927. The Gazette covered the day's proceedings in the evening paper:

Women and children were motioned to one corner of the House, but a place of honor in that section was given to two white-haired tribal mothers of Caughnawaga, whose counsel is weighty and heard with respect, even by the Grand Chief himself.

Motionless, the chiefs sat and waited. The Grand Chief rose, took the center of the floor, and his welcome in the native tongue opened proceedings of hours in which not a single word of English was uttered. Head Chief Gibson responded to the welcome in the crisp, expressionless language of his race. The business of the day was broached. Caughnawaga had its speakers; Chief Lyons did much of the talking for the visitors.

The meeting was impressive. There was none of the gesticulation and extravagant language of the Anglo-Saxon or Latin conference. And every Indian thought before he spoke. If he was not sure that his utterances would conform with the thought of those for whom he spoke, he conferred with his brothers, and the meeting sat silent until the orator was ready to rise to his feet. One after another the chiefs designated as the speakers had their say.



A group of Mohawk meet in Kahnawake to discuss means of reclaiming land in Vermont and New York State.

There was occasional nodding of approval from those who listened, once or twice a smile. For the most part, however, expression was lacking.

The council continued. Chief Lyons proved himself a real linguist when he rose later and addressed his brothers and sisters and children in the English language. And he gave them some idea of the state of affairs in his own reserve. There, it would seem, an Indian is an Indian. The chiefs rule. Their word is law, and their word follows the supreme laws laid down in 1372 by De ka na wi dah, laws which endure for ever through the medium of the wampum of the entire Iroquois family. The Indians have their own church, the Independent Indian Church. They are governed by their tribal rulers, whose power is such that no officer of the white man's government and no white children may set foot on the reservation if the chief objects. [3]

After the council was concluded, an evening social dance was held in the longhouse. The Onondaga singing society provided the music for the whole assembly. It was enjoyed thoroughly by the Kanienkehaka.

The final day of the council was held on June 30. Many of the Onondaga who had expected to attend the meeting were not present. This was due to bad weather conditions in upstate New York. A decision was made to hold another Grand Council at Kahnawake the following autumn.

The Mohawk Nation Met In Council In Kahnawake. On June 30, 1924 a council of just the Mohawk Nation was held in Kahnawake. Representatives from Akwesasne, Kanesatake and Kahnawake were present. Before the council was held, a lacrosse game was played between Akwesasne and Kahnawake. The game began at 2:30 p.m. and was won by Akwesasne. Following the game, the people convened in the longhouse where they heard a lawyer from Philadelphia, Mr. Adrian Bonnelly. Mr. Bonnelly spoke about the Paul Diabo case and its importance to the Iroquois people. The translator for Mr. Bonnelly's talk was Peter J. Delisle, a traditional chief at Kahnawake.

There was another social dance on the evening of June 30th. On this occasion the music was provided by a combined singing society made up of singers from Kahnawake and Akwesasne. The council was both an educational and decisive one for the Kanienkehaka. The ancient ties of the Mohawk Nation to the Confederacy were reaffirmed. The people saw, in the midst of the repressive Indian Act, that the Confederacy was still very much alive and functioning.

Sose Karawatiron Did Not Want To Send His Children To A Non-Native School. After the Grand Council and the meeting of the Mohawk Nation at Kahnawake, the people of Akwesasne and Kanesatake returned home. One of the chiefs from Akwesasne was Sose Karawatiron. Sose Karawatiron knew that the Canadian and American governments were attempting to undermine the Confederacy by sending Iroquois children to non-native schools. He believed in the sovereignty of the Mohawk Nation and the basic principles of the Two Row Wampum Treaty. He thought that sending his children to non-native schools was contrary to the philosophy of the Two Row Wampum agreement. Sose Karawatiron pulled his children out of the Canadian school system.

The Canadian government ordered Karawatiron to enroll his children in school. He refused. Finally in early September, 1927, two armed mounted police arrived. They forced themselves into Karawatiron's home. They arrested him, bound him and brought him to jail at St. Scholastique. Bail was set so high that the people could not deliver their chief from jail. The case went to court in Quebec, which ruled that it had no jurisdiction.

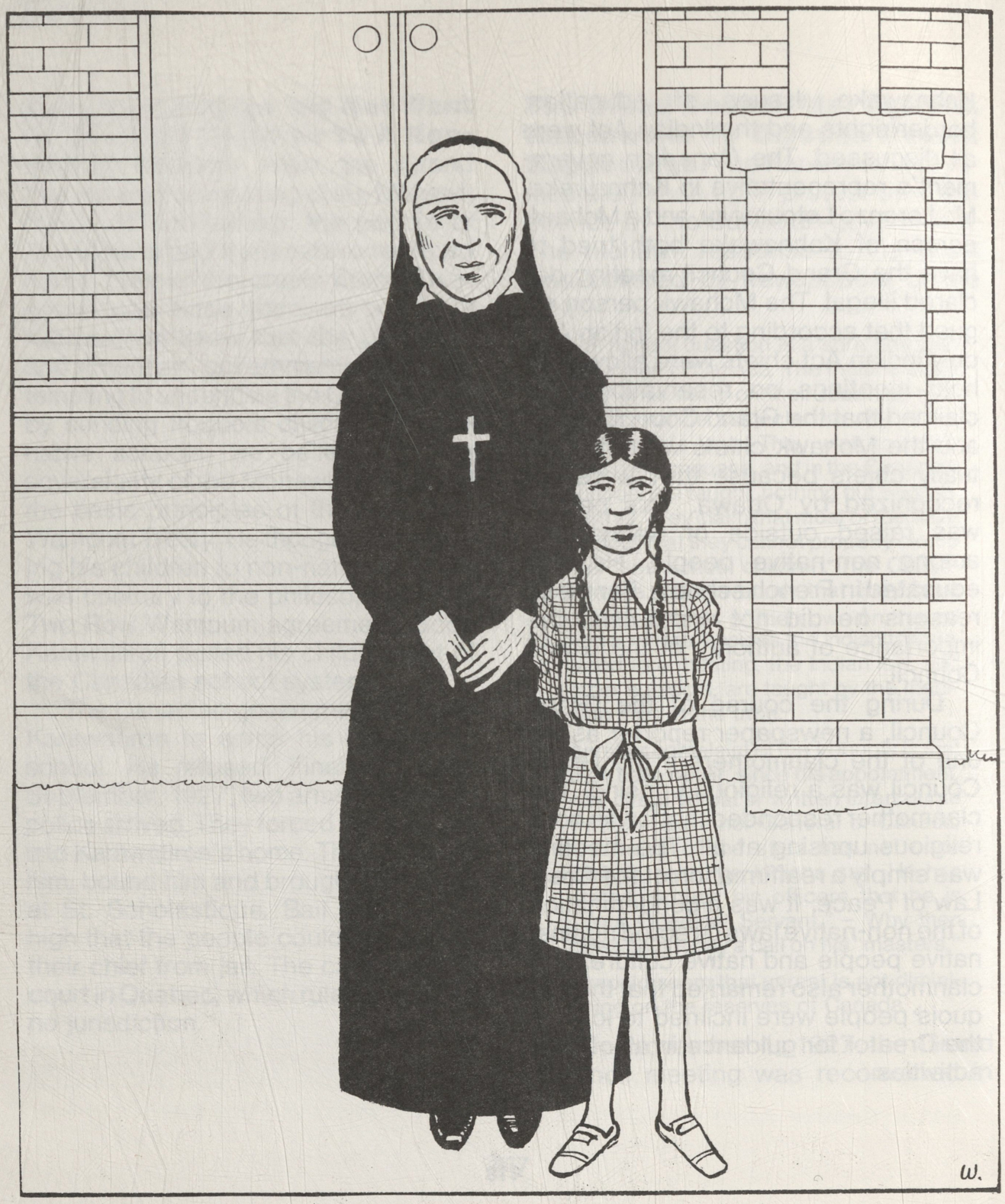
The Grand Council Met Again In Kahnawake To Discuss Recent Happenings. The Kanienkehaka immediately rose up in protest over this offence by the Canadian government. The Mohawk response to the crisis was covered by newspapers of the time:

> The school question is a sore one with the Indian in Canada. The Indians claim that, while living on their reserves they should not be subjected to any of the white man's laws. They wish to retain their own language, and in the Canadian schools are taught, nothing but English. Further, they claim that most of them are so poor that they cannot properly clothe and feed school children. The Caughnawaga Indians admit that they have private schools of their own on the reserve, where, besides the Indian tongue, wood-lore, hunting, the Indian law, and other subjects, are taught by the medicine men of the tribe.
>
> Another complaint of the Iroquois is that they have never, since his appointment, had direct verbal or written intercourse with the Governor-General of Canada. The head of the state has not once visited them, the Indians say. He has stated through his officers that he is "Your Obedient Servant," – Why then does he not pay a call on his "masters."
>
> It would seem that unrest is not diminishing on the reserves of Canada. [4]

On November 1, 1927 the Grand Council meeting was reconvened in

Kahnawake. Issues of education, border rights and the Indian Act were all discussed. The Canadian government's representative in Kahnawake, Mr. Lorenzo Letourneau, and a Mohawk person of Kahnawake both tried to have the Grand Council meeting declared illegal. The Mohawk person argued that according to the Indian Act, only Indian Act chiefs were allowed to hold meetings on reservations. He claimed that the Grand Council Chiefs and the Mohawk chiefs were not actually chiefs because they were not recognized by Ottawa. This person was raised outside of Kahnawake among non-native people. He was educated in French schools. For these reasons he did not understand the importance of authority of the Grand Council.

During the course of the Grand Council, a newspaper reporter asked one of the clanmothers if the Grand Council was a religious uprising. The clanmother responded that it was not a religious uprising at all. The meeting was simply a reaffirmation of the Great Law of Peace. It was a condemnation of the non-native laws directed against native people and native culture. The clanmother also remarked that the Iroquois people were inclined to look to the Creator for guidance in all of their activities.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Chapter 25
World Depression And The Kanienkehaka 1929 - 1939

In order to understand some of the things that happened in Mohawk country in the 1930's, it is necessary to examine a worldwide economic depression that occured in 1929. The United States and Canada both have a capitalist economy. In a capitalist economy, the people who control the economy are the people who control the capital. Capital is another word for wealth. It includes cash, property and investments. In the United States and Canada, most of the wealth is controlled by a very small part of the population, about 1% of the total. The people controlling the wealth are called capitalists. The people who work in factories, stores, offices and for the government are all dependent upon the capitalists.

In the 1920's there was a great deal of prosperity in the world. There were many people working, factories were being built, and people were beginning to think that life could only get better. Mohawk people found a lot of work in New York in these years. They shared in the prosperity of North American society.

In October of 1929, however, trading between capitalists on the New York stock exchange fell down to a low point. Most people lost confidence in the economic system. They rushed to take their money out of banks and sell their stocks and bonds. The stock market fell apart, and the American and Canadian economies were in ruin. The Great Depression was on. By the year 1932 one out of every four workers in the United States was unemployed. This figure included the ironworkers from Kahnawake and Akwesasne.

The time period from which the Great Depression emerged, was a time of stress and strain among the Kanienkehaka:

This chapter looks at:

1. The Great Depression
2. The Traditional Council And Band Council
3. Separate Schools And Return Of The Jesuits
4. Kanesatake And The Sulpicians

1. The Great Depression

Factories closed, jobs closed and building stopped. Thousands of workers were out of jobs in Canada

and the United States. Most of these workers lived in small homes or in apartments in the cities. With no jobs there was no money to buy food. With no food, families were faced with the possibility of starvation.

The Unemployed Mohawk Workers Returned Home. Euro-American society is competitive. People compete with each other to get the best jobs or highest salaries. Traditionally, Mohawk society is cooperative. The emphasis is on working with other people. It is not on competing against them. A Mohawk community tends to work together in times of difficulty.

When the Depression hit the United States and Canada, Americans and Canadians became even more competitive. The unemployed factory workers had nowhere to turn to for help. This was before the days of Unemployment Insurance. The Kanienkehaka always could return home.

Life at home during the Depression was extremely difficult for the Kanienkehaka. Reserve lands were large enough to raise food, but there was little chance for employment. Fuel had to come from the trees, food from the garden and domesticated animals. People had to join together to help one another survive. Although life during the Great Depression was difficult, many of the old people remember it well as a time when Mohawk people stuck together.

An Old Women Tells Of The Early Years During The Depression. An old woman from Akwesasne recalls her early childhood years growing up during the Depression:

> They were very bad years. At first there was welfare and relief at the tribal office. But it was gone after a month. Money was scarce in the States, and they weren't going to use it to feed us Indians.
>
> I was just a little girl then, maybe twelve. But twelve year old Indian girls were almost full grown. We had lots of work to keep us busy. My father was an ironworker. He got laid off right at the start. When he came home he told us kids and my mother that there would be no work for a long time, maybe never. He said that we would have to make a garden the next spring.
>
> Back then our house was by the Raquette River. We had a heater that burned oil. My father said we would burn wood from now on. He and my uncle Sose cut enough for the whole family during the month of November. Don't forget, we had a big family then. We had ten kids, plus mother, her mother and my uncle Joe. My Uncle Sose had twelve kids, but his wife was dead. She died of T.B.. Uncle Sose had to take care of his wife's mother and father too. That was a big family and a lot of wood. They cut about twelve cords at first. Us kids helped to

Akwesasne by the river

stack it all up and it looked like a lot of wood.

Uncle Sose found some white people stealing wood from the reserve one day. He chased them away and got a good idea. If white people would steal wood, maybe they would buy it. Him and my father cut even more wood, and carted it all the way to Cornwall to sell. We always joked that we ate wood that winter.

Well I remember everybody being so scared. We would have to plant a big garden in the spring. We always had small gardens, but never real big ones to live off of. We weren't sure of what to do. My grandmother and uncle Joe told us all not to be so scared. In March we had a big family meeting to figure out the planting. I mean a big family meeting. We had maybe a hundred people there. I remember because it was one of the best times of all. We met in Sose's barn. All the old ladies made soup and fry bread. We had hash too, with lots of potatoes and a little pork.

Us kids played during the meeting so I don't remember a whole lot about what happened. My mother was getting after me to pay attention, but I was having too much fun. She reminded me that I'd have to work hard when we got the garden started.

Everybody knew something about farming. We planned who would plant what crops, and everybody said they would

help harvest the crops in the fall. Sure enough too, we did it!

I guess you know I grew up in the depression. I grew up in the first year of the depression. That spring we all worked hard, and all summer too. It was a good summer and we raised a lot of corn. Sose raised corn for the pigs and my father raised Indian corn and vegetables. We also bought a cow and two goats.

It was real hard times but it was real good times too. People stuck together, and it made you feel good to be an Indian. During the depression we knew we was different. We could feel it.

During the depression I got to be a real good basket maker. I remember learning how to pound the logs, cut and color the splints, and weave sweet grass into the baskets. During those years we used to go to Kahnawake for the sweet grass.

All night we would make baskets. Sitting around we would talk and tell stories and listen a lot too. My uncle Sose's wife's mother was an old clanmother and she told us a lot about the way it used to be. I never knew how smart old ladies could be. Now I'm an old lady, and nobody thinks about me. Well, times are different. That there was during the depression. [1]

2. The Traditional Council And The Band Council In Kahnawake

People in Kahnawake tell the story of how the soup bones were passed from house to house during the Depression. The last person to get the bone, would not find much left to it. Times were difficult, but people had the river for fish, and the land for their gardens. During the Depression non-native people came on the reserve and cut wood illegally. The Kanienkehaka were often sympathetic towards them and looked the other way.

Government Was Handled By The Traditional Council: Administration By Band Council. Despite the Depression and all the hardships that it created, life went on in Kahnawake. The Canadian government still refused to recognize the traditional system of government. It continued to support the Band Council. The people learned to adapt, however, and soon developed a system of government that relied upon the best of both systems.

National affairs concerning Kahnawake's relationship to other Mohawk settlements, to the Confederacy and any foreign governments was handled by the traditional Mohawk council. Business that required dealing with the Department of Indian Affairs was handled by the Band Council. Both the Band Council and the traditional form of government cooperated, for a short time. Government, such as the organization of meetings of the people, was run in the traditional style, administra-

tion was handled by the Band Council.

During these years the traditional chiefs were responsible for the care of the people. If a widow or a family was too poor to take care of itself, a traditional chief would travel from door to door collecting money, food and clothes for the family in need. If a family needed a new roof put on the house, the chief of their clan organized the whole family together and helped to get the work done. During these years the chiefs were often the poorest people in town because they were always being asked to help out somebody in need.

There Was Unity Among The People. All decisions were made with the consent and with input from the people . General meetings were held in the field across the street from the Catholic Church. When an important issue had to be decided, the Church bell was sounded and the people all met in the field. Traditional chiefs, Band Councillors and the people all sat or stood side by side. When the meeting was ready to start, one of the traditional chiefs called the meeting to order. Then the matter to be discussed and decided upon was put forth. The people asked questions, and gave opinions. When a decision was reached that everybody was happy with, everybody would shout, "Ioh!"

These were the years when the Protestants, Catholics and the traditionalists could disagree about religion, but come together on matters of national concern. This was also a time when these ideas began to change, unfortunately for the worse. One of the reasons for this change had to do with education.

3. Separate Schools And The Return Of The Jesuits

In the early 1900's separate schools for Catholic and Protestant children opened in Kahnawake. The children of traditionalist families either went to the Protestant school or received their education at home. The Canadian government arranged the opening of these schools. It was part of Canada's plan to educate native people according to Canadian standards. The Canadian government thought that native people who had graduated from public schools would prefer to leave the reserves and become assimilated.

The Canadian government set strict guidelines against teaching native studies. It was forbidden to speak native languages at school and native culture programs were not permitted. These schools had serious effects on Mohawk people.

Sister of St. Anne

Children were separated according to church denomination. Today there is a great deal of cooperation and sharing between the Catholic and Protestant churches of the world. However, this cooperation has only been common since the mid 1960's. Before that time, Catholic and Protestant churches did not cooperate with each other very much. It was a common feeling that Catholics and Protestants should not inter-marry. In some families children were told that Catholics and Protestants should not play together.

After a few years of separate schools, these feelings of discrimination against people because of religion became common in Kahnawake. These attitudes created tensions that divided the people. During the Depression these tensions temporarily healed. People had to cooperate in order to live. After the Depression these divisions returned more strongly than ever.

Similar experiences were felt in Akwesasne and Kanesatake. Things were even more complicated in Akwesasne. There were separate school systems on the American and Canadian sides of the border.

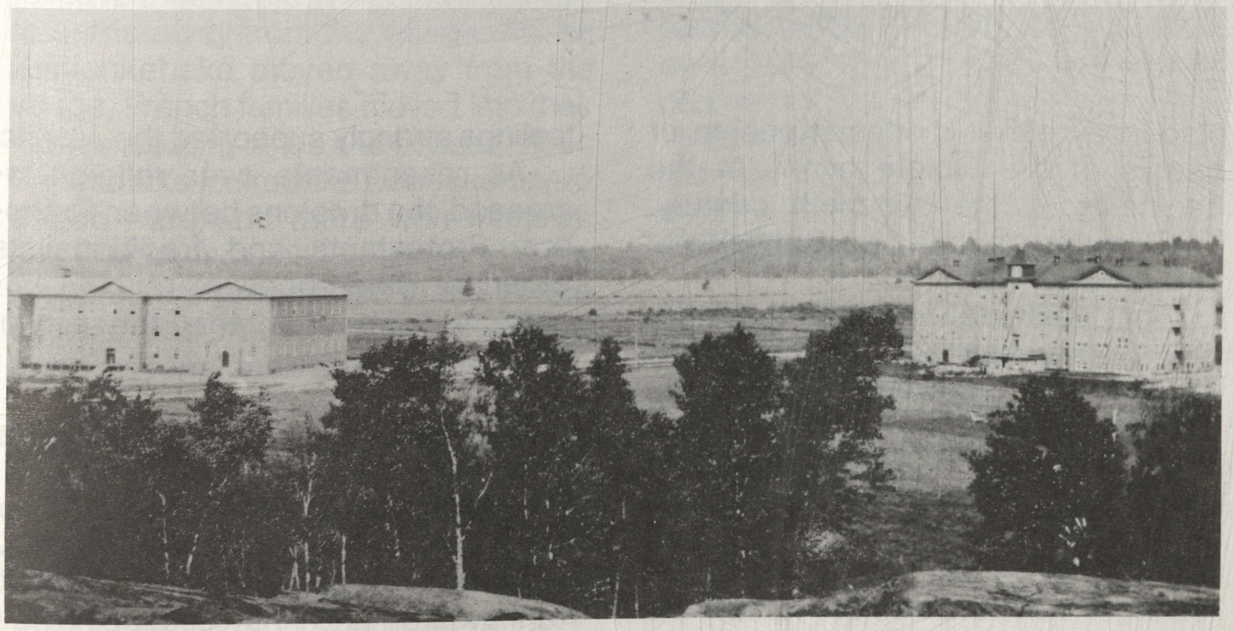
Most of the Kanienkehaka of Kanesatake were Protestant at this time. They had left the Catholic Church in the late 1800's because of bad experiences with the Sulpicians. The Protestant children went to school in Kanesatake. The few remaining Catholic children went to French schools outside of Kanesatake.

The Jesuits Returned To Kahnawake And Akwesasne. Generally the Catholic Church and the Kanienkehaka have had a friendly relationship throughout the history of their contact. The very early Jesuits were great admirers of Mohawk culture. They strove to learn the language and adopt some of the ways of the Kanienkehaka. The priests were in the community to serve the spiritual needs of the Catholic Kanienkehaka.

Once in a while the priests tried to interfere with other matters in the community. An example of this is when the church tried to sell Mohawk land after the Seven Years' War. On these occasions, the people reminded the priests of their responsibilities and advised them not to interfere in other affairs.

The Jesuits are an international organization and one of the most powerful groups in the Catholic Church throughout the world. In 1773 the Pope suppressed the Jesuits. He abolished their organization and dissolved their property. The last Jesuits left Kahnawake and Akwesasne around the end of the eighteenth century. After the Jesuits left Kahnawake, they were re-

A Kahnawake Classroom



The Spanish School

Village of Oka

placed by either diocesan priests or priests of the Oblate order. At the beginning of the twentieth century. The Jesuits returned to Kahnawake and Akwesasne.

The Jesuits returned shortly before the separate schools opened. They were the spiritual advisors to the Catholics of Kahnawake and Akwesasne when mistrust and division along religious lines were common. The Jesuits were sometimes looked upon with mistrust by people with anti-Catholic feelings. On the other hand, the Mohawk people with strong Catholic feelings strongly supported the Jesuits.

As resentments over religion increased, the divisions between Catholics, Protestants and traditionalists widened. Differences of religion became more important than the unity of the Mohawk Nation.

4. Kanesatake And The Sulpicians

The Sulpicians Regarded The Kanesatake Land As Their Own. As bad as things got occasionally at Kahnawake and Akwesasne, they were much worse at Kanesatake. The

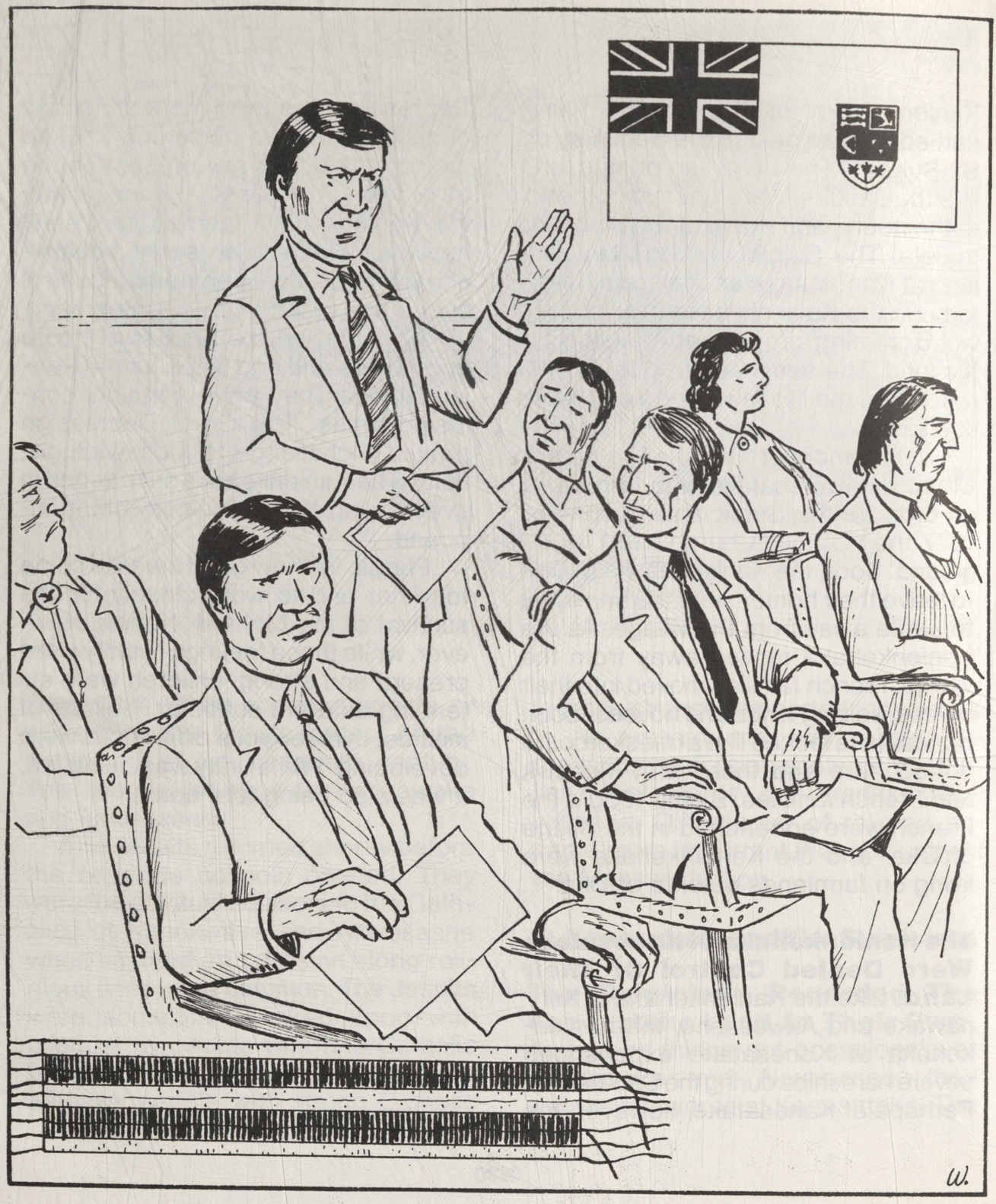
Kanienkehaka at Kanesatake were settled on land next to the Seminary of St. Sulpice. The Sulpician priests, unlike the Jesuits, were not sympathetic to the needs and rights of the Mohawk people. The Sulpicians regarded the land at Kanesatake as their own. They forbade the Kanienkehaka from cutting wood, raising crops, and developing the land. The seminary tried to collect rents from the Mohawk people at Kanesatake.

In December of 1875 the Protestant Church at Kanesatake was torn down on order of the Sulpicians. In June of 1877 the Catholic Church burnt to the ground. Soon the Kanienkehaka began to leave their homes near the seminary to settle away from the village. As the Kanienkehaka moved away from the village, French families moved into their homes, seizing lands and houses. Soon Kanesatake looked like a checkerboard dotted here and there with Mohawk and French families. By the 1930's the French were entrenched in the village of Oka, and the Kanienkehaka were living on farmlands outside of Oka.

The Kanienkehaka Of Kanesatake Were Denied Control Of Their Land. Like the Kanienkehaka of Kahnawake and Akwesasne, the Kanienkehaka at Kanesatake experienced severe hardships during the Depression. Perhaps at Kanesatake, however, the Depression was even more difficult to bear, because the community lacked the unity that was still present on the other two settlements. At Kanesatake, the Kanienkehaka learned very early how difficult it is to preserve a culture and a way of life when denied control over lands and cultural development.

In conclusion, the 1930's were both good times and bad times for the Kanienkehaka. They were certainly confusing times. The Great Depression proved a challenge to Mohawk ingenuity. The Kanienkehaka succeeded in overcoming the difficulties that it imposed.

People felt how good it was to come together and to work closely for the survival of the Mohawk Nation. However, while these feelings of unity were present and strong, children were attending different schools. Feelings of mistrust over religious differences were developing. While unity was being felt, it was also being torn apart.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Chapter 26

The Kanienkehaka And The Indian Act Review Of 1946 - 1947

After the Great Depression, Canada and the United States entered into World War II. Fighting spread out across Europe, Asia, Africa and the major oceans. On December 8, 1941 President Roosevelt asked the Congress of the United States to declare war on Japan. The Grand Council met three hours before the Congress and declared war on both Japan and Germany.

The Grand Council knew that the United States and Canada would try to draft Iroquois men into the armed forces. The Council did not want the governments of the United States and Canada to argue that Iroquois men in the armed forces were citizens of the United States or Canada. To prevent this type of reasoning, the Grand Council had made its own declaration of war. It passed a resolution stating that it was permissible for the warriors of the Six Nations to serve with the armies of the United States and Canada.

The war brought an important issue to Kanienkeh. Did the governments of the United States and Canada have the right to draft Iroquois men into the armed forces? The Six Nations were opposed to the Nazis and the war efforts of the Japanese. But this did not mean that the United States and Canada had the right to violate the sovereignty of the Confederacy and draft young Iroquois men into the armies. There were a number of incidents both at Akwesasne and Kahnawake when R.C.M.P. and F.B.I. officers tried to abduct Mohawk men to force them into the armies of Canada and the United States.

After the war was over in 1945, the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada decided to review the Indian Act and all other native related legislation. One reason for this new interest in native people was that the Canadian government appreciated the help that native people had given to the war effort. The Department of Indian Affairs decided to reward native people by giving them a better Indian Act.

This chapter looks at:

1. The Mohawk Demand For Traditional Government
2. A Preference For The Indian Act By A Small Group From Kahnawake
3. A New Indian Act

1. The Mohawk Demand For Traditional Government

In mid-1946, Parliament established a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons with terms of reference as follows:

> ...to examine and consider the Indian Act, Chapter 98, R.S.C., 1927, and amendments thereto and suggest such admendments as they deem advisable, with authority to investigate and report on Indian administration in general and, in particular, the following matters:
>
> 1. Treaty rights and obligations.
> 2. Band membership
> 3. Liability of Indians to pay taxes.
> 4. Enfranchisement of Indians both voluntary and involuntary.
> 5. Eligibility of Indians to vote at dominion elections.
> 6. The encroachment of white persons on Indian reserves.
> 7. The operation of Indian day and residential Schools.
> 8. And any other matter or thing pertaining to the social and economic status of Indians and their advancement, which, in the opinion of such a committee should be incorporated in the revised act.[1]

The review committee met from 1946 to 1948. Testimony was heard from government representatives of both the United States and Canada, from specialists on native people and from native people themselves. The mood amongst native people was optimistic at the beginning of the hearings. This mood was described by a member of the Committee, John Blackmore:

> The Indians now have confidence we are really going to do something for them, the Canadian people as a whole are interested in the problem of Indians; they have become aware that the country has been neglected in the matter of looking after the Indians and they are anxious to remedy our shortcomings. Parliament and the country is "human rights" conscious. This is clearly shown, as we all know, by discussions in the House of Commons at the present time.[2]

The People Of Kahnawake Voiced Their Opinion. The Kanienkehaka affected by this review were those living on the Canadian side of the border. The Kahnawake Band Council had dissolved itself in 1942. The Band Councillors realized that the Indian Act system was working against them. They joined at this time with the Longhouse to form a unified government in Kahnawake. The Longhouse handled national affairs, while the council administered programs for the people. When in 1947 the people of Kahnawake were asked to submit testimony before the Indian Act Review committee, the Band Council and Longhouse worked together to submit the following statement:

SPECIAL JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Appointed to continue and complete the examination and consideration of the INDIAN ACT

Minutes of proceedings and evidence No. 33
Thursday, June 12, 1947

1. We demand the restoration of our primordial rights, the respect and fulfilment of treaty obligations, the recognition as a sovereign nation.

We have no desire to be governed in the future by the "Indian Act", or any other form of government. The "Indian Act", as it stands to-day is a detriment to the progress of our people. All the power is vested in the superintendent general of Indian Affairs and the Indian agent, which leave our (Band) councillors and (traditional) chiefs no power to control our own affairs and problems on our reserves, all they can do is offer suggestions in the form of resolutions which often go unanswered. For an example out of 485 resolutions passed the Department of Indian Affairs answered about 40, many unfavourably. The Indian Act is the most bureaucratic and dictatorial system ever imposed on mankind.

You have violated our treaties by making compulsory laws for us Indians, and the surrender of the dominion government of the natural resources to the provinces, because through it, you the dominion government transferred the rights of the Indian to live. You have taken the food out of the mouths of Indians and put it into the mouths of those who are going to vote for you. By the "Indian Act", Indians are subject to rulings of the Department of Indian Affairs presided over by the honourable Minister of Mines and Resources, and from his decision there is no appeal. The department acts on all matters on the report of the Indian agent under Section 99A. The agent is appointed by the Indian Affairs and he presides over all the meetings of the Indian council and controls all proceedings. He has sovereign power to govern as he sees fit.

The Indians to-day are a subject race, held down by the very Act which is supposed to help and protect them. Indians cannot discuss their own problems, they are tied down to a helpless condition and cannot move or do anything until the Indian agent so directs; Indians cannot go direct to the department for redress of any grievances, as all communications must be through the Indian agent, who in many cases is the direct cause of the grievances. The agent has the power to veto any resolution of Indian council, and any effort on their part to go over his head will be totally ignored by the Department of Indian Affairs. In truth, nothing can be accomplished unless recommended by the Indian agent. In fact his duties are becoming more and more like a dictator.

The "Indian Act" tends to divide then destroy the red man. The elected council (Band Council) came into being by sheer force of arms and threat of violence which disbanded our govenment, but in the minds and understanding of our people, there can be only one govern-

The old Indian Agent's office: Kahnawake

ment for us, "The Six Nations Government".

Therefore, we charge you, the Canadian government, aided by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, of invading our domains and forcing foreign laws on our people by force of arms.

Gentlemen! is this not what we fought for in this last war? The protection of the principles of freedom, to stop the brutal aggressor? Then why should you let some small nations be subjected to dictatorship right here at home?

Gentlemen! the Indian was once the ruler of this vast and rich country, now to-day he has a two-by-four reservation left and still your government is not contented until it takes all. Gentlemen! is it too much to assume that you do not want us or a foreign government to make laws for you? Then, how can you expect us to accept or like the laws you impose on us?

The officials of the Indian department have overruled regulations in the "Indian Act" to suit their purposes. They also, especially the Indian agent, make all arrangements and agreements for companies and provincial governments to make roads, bridges, towers for electricity, etc., without the consent of the band, who are owners of the reserves.

The burning down of our town hall is a complete responsibility of an official of the Indian department, as it was in his use at the time; he had his office in it, and he was heating it by oil stove, which

was the cause of the fire. Therefore we claim from the government of Canada the sum of $10,000 for damages caused by its official. By virtue of our treaty rights we demand the abolition of the "Indian Act," the exemption of all Indians from compulsory taxation and compulsory military service.

By virtue of our treaties we demand the removal of all whites from our reserve, including the officials of the Department of Indian Affairs and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, as they afford no protection for our people. We want it known that the lands on our reserves is the sole property of the Indians, not the provincial nor dominion.

Therefore unless you advise your people especially the motorist using the many roads through our reserve, that we will tolerate no longer the wanton destruction of our animals, the killing and endangering the lives of our people, we will be forced to set up blockades on all roads and restrict the use of same thereafter.

Therefore we the (Band) councillors and (traditional) chiefs unanimously resolve not to make any suggestions to the revision of the Indian Act, where our people are concerned by virtue of our ancient treaties, but demand the abolition of the Indian Act on behalf of the Six Nations confederacy. We therefore ask you, the federal government, to abandon the proposed Indian Act. You cannot hope to have us believe that the new Indian Act will be to our advantage and advancement, when we have been so often deceived in the past. The Act retards the progress of our nation, and as it stands today can be criticized from the beginning to the end, every section of the Act. It is too dictatorial and the powers vested in the Indian agent and superintendent general are too arbitrary and autocratic, and binds our people on a double chain of pauperism and mental servitude.

We therefore insist that treaties, as made by our great forefathers were in the form of agreements between two equal sovereign nations, but that you the whites took the attitude that we, the Indians, were not equal, when you abrogated treaty clauses which guaranteed to the Indians of the Six Nations rights of self government as an independent nation.

That by virtue of our treaty rights, Indians of the Six Nations are not liable to any federal or provincial laws within their territories.

That by virtue of our treaty rights, Indians of the Six Nations are not liable for payment of taxes to either the federal or provincial governments.

That by virtue of our treaties, we demand the government of Canada the proper adjustment of treaty obligations to meet our demands, the recognition and respection of our privileges and rights as a sovereign nation, who are able to govern and make laws for ourselves.

In dealing with those treaties, between Great Britain and the United States, wherein the independence of the Indians of the Six Nations, both Great Britain and the United States have confessed that the Six Nations were an independent people. The supreme courts of both countries furthermore recognized

those treaties as inviolable.

In the life of Sir Frederick Haldimand (in The Making of Canada)... V. 3, p. 356, it is found that the question of the sovereignty of the Indians was very embarrassing in that it would have been impossible on any theory of the laws of the nations of Great Britain or the United States to establish a prerogative in themselves to enforce the laws of the white man upon the owners of this country.

To make this admission still stronger that article was amplified by amendment of 1796–Mallory p. 607, which provided that no treaty made or to be made by either party with another nation or with any other Indian tribe should be construed to deny those tribal rights.

We cannot and will never approve of the Indian Act by virtue of the existing treaties numerated herein:

1. Treaty of Peace and Friendship 1784, in this treaty will be found Indians are not citizens or subjects of any country, but are a nation of themselves.
2. Treaties of 1759 and 1791 King George II is absolute Protector of Indians, and absolutely forbidden to purchase or molestation of Indians.
3. Treaty of New York 1774.
4. Jay Treaty 1776. No boundary line for Indians, because they are not citizens of either Canada or the United States.
5. Treaty of 1794 confirming the sovereignty of the Six Nations.
6. North Western Anglo Treaty 1873.
7. Grant of King Louis XIV 1680.
8. General Gage's Judgment 1762.
9. Imperial Proclamation 1766.
10. Royal Proclamation 7th Oct. 1763.
11. Treaty of Ghent Art. 9, to cease hostilities, to restore to the Indians their possession, rights and privileges, not complied with.

We expected you to safeguard our interest, not give it away as you have done in the past.

2. The right to decide as to who or whom belongs to this band or other band of Six Nations lies within the jurisdiction of the local (traditional) chiefs and (Band) councillors. It does not lie within provincial nor dominion government jurisdiction.

You would not want us to decide for you as to who or whom is a citizen of Canada. It is only just that only the Indian can justly decide for himself, as every one knows one another in our reserves, as to who or whom is a member of this band, or bands of Six Nations Indians of Canada. The Indian Act and your government has done enough, so much in fact that it has made white people members of this band.

3. As long as an Indian is domiciled on a reserve and he seeks employment in a city or town or any part of the country away from home or his reservation, it does not change his Indian status, and you, the government, cannot take his money legally. What he earns is his own personal property and that cannot be taxed.

Certain reservations are subject to provincial taxation on electrical services, and stores sales tax; the provincial government has no jurisdiction to legislate on Indian territory and cannot impose taxation within a reserve limits.

The income tax cannot be imposed on Indians domiciled on the reserve, because wherever he may be off or on the reserve he is still an Indian and the compulsory taxation on Indians is a violation of British justice–no representation, no taxation and against the proclamation of King George III and an infringement of Indian treaty rights. Therefore we demand a refund of all moneys collected from Indians on income and electric tax, etc. And another form of compulsory collection of moneys has been enforced on reservations in the form of unemployment insurance.

We base our arguments on the merits of our aboriginal heritage as we never imparted nor ceded any of our rights to any government or nation.

Our future, the future of your country and my country, will be exactly what we together make it. The preservation of the principles of the Four Freedoms, and the United Nations Charter.

4. We do not approve and will never submit to the government's demand of enfranchisement for the Indians of the Six Nations both voluntary or involuntary. We do not want enfranchisement of any form whatsoever. Voluntary enfranchisement should not be fostered or encouraged by the government and involuntary enfranchisement must be abolished for ever for all Indians.

5. We, the Six Nations Indians, by our International Treaty are allies of His Majesty's government, therefore we are also allies of Canada and the commonwealth. Therefore, we do not desire to be governed, or to be considered eligible to vote for any dominion or provincial elections. Therefore we have no interest and never will be interested in a vote for any other form of government, except our own Six Nations government.

6. The encroachment of white persons on our Indian reserves is made possible through the Indian Act. The officials of the department through powers of the Indian Act have decided that it is to the advantage of the Indians to rent houses to whites, by elevating their living conditions, this is and has been done regardless of protests and feeling of our people. The only elevating the renting of houses has done for our people, is by burning and destruction and damaging the houses. Now gentlemen is that making our people richer or poorer? Therefore we demand the removal of all whites from our reserves, nuns, priest and government officials included.

7. The operation of Indian day or residential schools is not approved by this band, if it will be operated by any religious denomination. We do not approve the Nuns or Sisters or St. Anne's to teach our children as they do not teach our children enough, the only thing they learn is praying and singing and marching to church during school hours, also they get holidays for a priest's birthday, etc. We do not approve the rebuilding of our burnt school unless it becomes a public school which takes children of all religion and teaches them. Same as the protestant school system of Montreal, which is one of the highest form of education in Canada. We demand qualified teachers with degrees for teaching, to teach our children. The creating of vocational

section and also the creation of a technical branch.

We demand these things because our children deserve the best form of education this country can give, to be prepared to meet and conquer the industrial and professional world of to-morrow. We also complain and object to the behaviour and activities of the Jesuit Society, who are in control of our church. They are meddling in the affairs of this band when all they have a right to do is be spiritual advisers. We are capable of handling our affairs without interference from outsiders. They have set themselves up in business in a big way. They operate bingo and euchre games of chance, these games are in the category of gambling. This teaches our children to take chances, thereby become gamblers. They also operate a movie house, dance hall and pool room. They no longer preach in our native tongue, but insist in preaching in French and English only. This Act threatens the extinction of our beloved language, which the people will not tolerate for long.

The control of band funds by the Indian department is a gross injustice, because the owners of these funds are starving with the very little they get for relief.

Therefore we the Indians of the Six Nations cannot rest as long as the common laws overrule the laws of principality.

In treating with France in 1803 for Louisiana the United States recognized the local sovereignty of the occupant Indian tribes for it itself to respect their outstanding treaties which had been concluded with Spain.

The Supreme Court said that those treaties were inviolable by congress (Mitchell V. U.S. 9, Peters 754).

In treating with Great Britain and United States has confessed that the Six Nations were independent.

The Treaty of Paris (Malloys Treaties, V.I.P. 580) by its silence (Alliance) ignored the existence here of red men.

The British Crown and the United States has ostensibly divided the earth here between themselves by a line following westward the 45th parallel to the St. Lawrence river, which it strikes at the point of Cornwall Island running thence up the waters of the Great Lakes. When the Six Nations then, 1783, under cover of a British port at Niagara, and allies of the British wanted to know by what right Great Britain has assumed to consent to such a division as against them, they asked for the reasons, at the same time, they expressed their astonishment that the Crown had presumed to cede their own home-land lying south of that boundary to the United States (Life Sir Frederick Haldimand in the Making of Canada V. 3, p. 256). The question was, of course, embarrassing to the British for it would have been impossible on any theory of the law of nations for Great Britain or the United States or both to establish a prerogative in themselves for drawing a line through the domain of the Caughnawaga St. Regis Tribe (Mohawks) through the St. Lawrence and this line passed, and crossed, which line the members of that tribe would not

be entitled to pass with the same freedom as before a white man set foot on the land we call (America). That truth was confessed, painfully perhaps, to the white man, by both parties when in 1794 the Jay Treaty of Amity (Malloy p. 590) was negotiated wherein by Article II the rights of the native Americans was recognized. Moreover, the language used there treated these tribes as being outside the circle of British subjects as well as outside United States citizenship and sovereignty. This article recognized that these people were entitled to pass and repass over the line by land or by water, and for commerce and intercourse between themselves. To make the admission still stronger that article was amplified by amendment of 1796 (Malloy p. 607) it provides that no treaty made or to be made by either party with any other nation, or with any Indian tribe should be construed to deny the tribal rights. This recognized no act of Great Britain or the United States could have more solemnly recognized the outstanding rights of native American tribes to political independence, and while not mentioned by name therein.

It was the situation of the Six Nations which provoked congress, because their domain bordered the Great Lakes, and because no white man had, up to that time, ever prevented them from crossing those waters at will, and up to that time no white man had dared to try.

The Jay Treaty stands to-day with all the force it had when ratified as the most solemn, confessed by the United States of the right of the Six Nations to exist independently of the will of the congress of the United States, and of the imperial parliament of Great Britain.

Signed by–We, the Council of Caughnawaga, members of the Six Nations Confederacy. [3]

The People Of Akwesasne Submitted A Brief. The people of Akwesasne also submitted a brief to the Indian Act Review Committee that called for the abolition of the Indian Act:

St. Regis Band
June 11, 1947.

Joint Committee of the Senate
and The House of Commons
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sirs, – We the undersigned members of the Mohawk Iroquois Indians of the St. Regis Band – with this message place our grievances before you and the people of Canada:

With one accord the chiefs and members of our tribe want the "Indian Act" taken away from our reservation! This act for the compulsory enfranchisement of the Indians, not only violates our sacred agreements and treaties but while it stands – there is no security of the Indian home! If an Indian is old, crippled and destitute and asks for relief of the Indian agent he is told that he can receive fuel, clothing or food and ten dollars in cash if he will forfeit his house and lands. In other words the Indian is called upon to forfeit his entire birthright as an Indian and all that he holds dear –

for a few paltry dollars. To compel our people to do this is nothing short of dictatorship and smacks of Hitler, himself! The Dominion Government of Canada is laying too great a burden and too much hardship on our Indians, in reference to assistance received from you. The majority of our people are very poor due to lack of work. We have no projects, no employment of any kind on our reservation. We see by the papers that the government is very free and generous in its aid to foreign countries, yes even to countries that are known to be enemies. It has appropriated millions of dollars for relief work and to improve European countries. Yet we are told if we, a small number, receive aid we are to lose our lands! We who have been your faithful allies in all of your wars including the late war in which thousands of our youth fought for your very existence! We cannot stand such a type of relief regulation as is found in the "Indian Act". Why should we Indians have to lose our homes while other races are aided by the Government?

Officials of your government have violated our treaties, have made plans to erect a hospital on our lands, have entered our reserve for the purpose of drilling wells and making roads, have sent men to survey our lands and have planned to erect buildings on our reserve – all done without permission from our head men and without letting them know anything about the above mentioned. We blame this all upon the "Indian Act". We cannot understand why these things are taking place without our knowledge and consent. Both King George and the first President of the United States promised us that we, the members of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy would remain unmolested in our country without any interference from the outside. We quote the words of Sir William Johnson while at Fort Johnson, April 22, 1757:

"Brethren, as you have now in behalf of yourself and all your people laid hold of the Covenant Chain of Peace and Friendship with the great King of England, my master, and called the great God above to witness that you do sincerely intend and firmly resolve that you will hereafter, behave, to all his subjects as fast friends and loving brethren into which covenant chain I have taken all your wives and children".

Brother-Concerning the International Boundary line, that according to our original treaty that it does not interfere with it whatever, but it covers the whole plantation.

Brother-Concerning the question referred to by our treaty from the discovery to the time of the first great President of the United States:-

FIRST – That the government has made an illustration that they shall abide in their vessel;

SECOND – That we Indians of the Iroquois, also remain in our birch bark canoe. (Our own government);

THIRD – That the government shall make no compulsory laws for the Indians, but the treaties are to be unmolested forever."

In 1871 Hon. A.G. Archibald Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, speaking of

treaties with the Indians, assured us that – "Your great mother, the Queen, would like you to adopt the habits of the whites. But the Queen, though she may think it good for you to adopt these habits, has no idea of compelling you to do so. This she leaves to your choice, and you need not live like the white man unless you can be persuaded to do so of your own will." – We members of the St. Regis Iroquois Band want to retain our tribal identity, with our reservation. We have no desire to cast these aside. We have no wish that white men enter our reservations, using the Indian Act as an excuse, to create works of any kind (over the heads of our Chiefs and people) to interfere with our tribal life. We have faith in the good word of the Queen who gave us her promise! We hope that our treaties, guaranteeing no interference from outside sources, will be kept by a country that boasts of its honor and word!

We have given up every fertile field, forest and stream. All that we have left is our small reservation, yet now, by laws made, laws that we know nothing of and had no saying in their being made (The Indian Act), we may lose what little land we now possess – Our reservations! We are confined and dictated to by feudal and bureaucratic departments with no representation by our chiefs or by our people. We have no share in the disposing of our destiny and rights! (Witness – Elective form of trustees appointed and started by Canadian Govt. without our consent; Indian Act Law – without our consent; Forfeiting our homes if on relief, without our consent; building a nursing station on our lands, without our consent; drilling wells, making roads, erecting buildings, surveying our lands – all without our consent!)

We are the first people of Canada. We claim justice and an honest living wherever we may be, as the last reprisal for the great wealth ursurped by greed and injustice in the name of civilization. Justice has come to a sorry pass when the St. Regis Mohawks and other Iroquois, now that they need relief will be denied relief unless they forfeit their homes and reservation, through laws that they know nothing of and had no say in the making of. Has the power of conquest, the philosophy of might over right for which millions died to deny in the late war, attain the strength to deny what the Great Spirit has given the Indian?

The Indian honors the hand that deals justice. We have kept our treaties and promises with you. We have been faithful allies in all of your wars, from the French and Indian war to World War II. We ask but life and liberty and freedom to run our own little country without outside interference. When you English first came to our country you were few, weak and feeble. Yet we took pity on you and gave you your start. In times of famine when your little ones cried for bread, who was it who gave them relief, who gave them meat, corn and fish? Did the Iroquois say that you must become as they were if they helped you during your need? Who helped you during the French and Indian war when the French were thundering at your gate? It was your faithful allies, the Iroquois Indians who turned the tide and made your victory possible! If it had not been for the help

Hogansburg, Akwesasne

given by our people the French would have driven you into the sea! Yet now when our people need your aid and protection – you forget. You must seize our homes if you aid us.

When your numbers had increased and you wanted land you made us promises that if we surrendered part of our country we could retain our reservations for all time to come and for land surrendered you would help feed and clothe us! We now remind you of the promises of King George III to his faithful allies, the Iroquois Indians:-

King George III of England, a charter issued to the Five Nation Indians in North America.

1st Condition – The Five Nation Indians territorial government permanent independence.

2nd Condition – Permanent land (Reservations to the Five Nation Indians.

3rd Condition – As long as the sun shall be moving in the heaven, and grass growing, and the waters flowing in the rivers, the Iroquois Indians shall draw presents, blankets and other goods, etc. (for land surrendered outside of the reservations).

Now if we need your aid we are surprised and shocked to hear that another new law (The Indian Act), a law passed without our knowledge, might take our country away from us if we receive aid

from you, a law that gives, apparently from your actions, you permission to enter our reservations and interrupt our way of life, over the heads of our leaders and people. Little did the Iroquois think that the present situation would confront him!

The King and Washington by the Jay Treaty confirmed after 1812 at Ghent, restored to the Five Nation Iroquois and Indians of America all the privileges and precedents that they enjoyed previous to 1812 that to-day are being challenged. Shall we have justice?

You have the mineral wealth of Canada, the wheat lands of the middle west, the forest wealth of the interior, oil fields and fertile valleys. You set aside thousands of acres to preserve the wild game of America, the national parks, but lo- the Indian, you aim to deny him, if possible, the right to live his own life on his reservation, the right to govern his own people in a true democratic way as the Iroquois were governed for years before the white man came to our shores. The Iroquois Indian's appeal is not for mercy. We ask for justice from this great Canadian people, the right to live unmolested in a land that is our heritage. Are we to be exiles in our own country? Is the trust that our forefathers had in the great White Father at Ottawa to be broken?

We want to remain Indian in this fast changing world. We have seen the results of the white man's way of life. We think it better to remain a good Indian than a poor imitation of a white man! We want to live our own life on our reservations, without interference from outside sources, and governed by our own chiefs appointed in our own way, a way that we understand and a way that we are satisfied with. In plain English we want our treaties to be respected and lived up to!

THE ST. REGIS BAND
4

2. A Preference For The Indian Act By A Small Group From Kahnawake

The people of Kanesatake also agreed with the Kahnawake and Akwesasne petitions to abolish the Indian Act. Why then was their advice ignored and turned down?

Often times when the Department of Indian Affairs looks for information and input from native people, the Department has already made up its mind as to what it is going to do. In some instances, Indian Affairs gets opinions from individual members of native groups. If the advice of native individuals agrees with the wishes of the Department, it is used as the input from native people. In 1947, after the Band Council and Longhouse had jointly agreed to abolish the Indian Act, the Department of Indian Affairs heard testimony from a select group of individuals from Kahnawake.

This Small Group Defended The Indian Act. This small group did not represent the people of Kahnawake. They did not have any authority from either the Band Council or the tradition-

al people. They favored enfranchisement and the total assimilation of native people into Canadian life. They did not support the concept that the Kanienkehaka are a sovereign people. A spokesman for the group stated:

> we might get more by cooperating with the government and by trying to make certain recommendations to make better laws for Indians. [5]

One thing discussed by the group with the Indian Act Review committee was the timing of the Band Council elections. Up to this time the elections were held in January. Most band members living away from Kahnawake were not around the reserve at election time.

The group recommended that the elections be held in July. Many of the people living away from Kahnawake returned for the summer months. Many of these people were not familiar with developments in Kahnawake. They lived in Brooklyn, Detroit and other cities, raising their children in non-native neighborhoods. These children were developing different ideas of life than what was typical of Kahnawake. The group defending the Indian Act thought that these people should be able to vote in Band Council elections, even if they were not living in Kahnawake.

Mr. Lazare Spoke On Behalf Of The Band Council And The Longhouse. Shortly after this small group defended the Indian Act, Matty Lazare spoke on behalf of the Band Council and Longhouse. Mr. Lazare was interviewed about the brief that was submitted by the Band Council and Longhouse. One of the important points developed by him for the Band Council and the Longhouse was the necessity of the Kanienkehaka in gaining control over the schools in Kahnawake. Mr. Lazare was asked:

> Q. If you are going to do away with all dominion or provincial authority, and the Indian Act, and the white people, what kind of a school would you want to have and who shall impose that system; the Indians themselves?
>
> A. The Six Nations Confederacy will set up a public school with qualified teachers the same as you people have in the big cities. It would be like what you call the Protestant School Commission of Quebec.
>
> Q. When you say qualified, that would be qualified under the white man's law, but you do not want the white man's law at all.
>
> A. In the beginning we must have qualified teachers and white men if possible.
>
> Q. After that who will decide who are qualified teachers?
>
> A. There will be a board for that purpose.
>
> Q. By the Indians?

A. Yes.

Q. That will decide who will be qualified?

A. Yes.

Q. The broad picture is you want complete authority and sovereignty as a nation?

A. That is right.

[6]

3. A New Indian Act

The Indian Act Review Committee also heard testimony from the prominent anthropologist, Dr. Diamond Jenness. Dr. Jenness submitted a plan to the Review Committee called "A Plan for Liquidating Canada's Indian Problem Within 25 Years". According to Jenness the objectives of his plan were:

> To abolish, gradually but rapidly, the separate political and social status of the Indians and Eskimos: to enfranchise them and merge them into the rest of the population on an equal footing. The realization of this plan should:
>
> A. Improve the Indian's social and economic position, now so depressed as to create "leprous" spots in many parts of the country;
>
> B. Abolish the permanent drain on the federal treasury of the millions of dollars yearly now spent on Indian administration.
>
> C. Fulfill the almost forgotten pledge of the government when it adopted the system of confining the Indians to special reserves. [7]

Jenness thought that it was the responsibility of the Department of Indian Affairs to abolish reserves, make all native people Canadian citizens, and to dispose of trust funds specially held for native people.

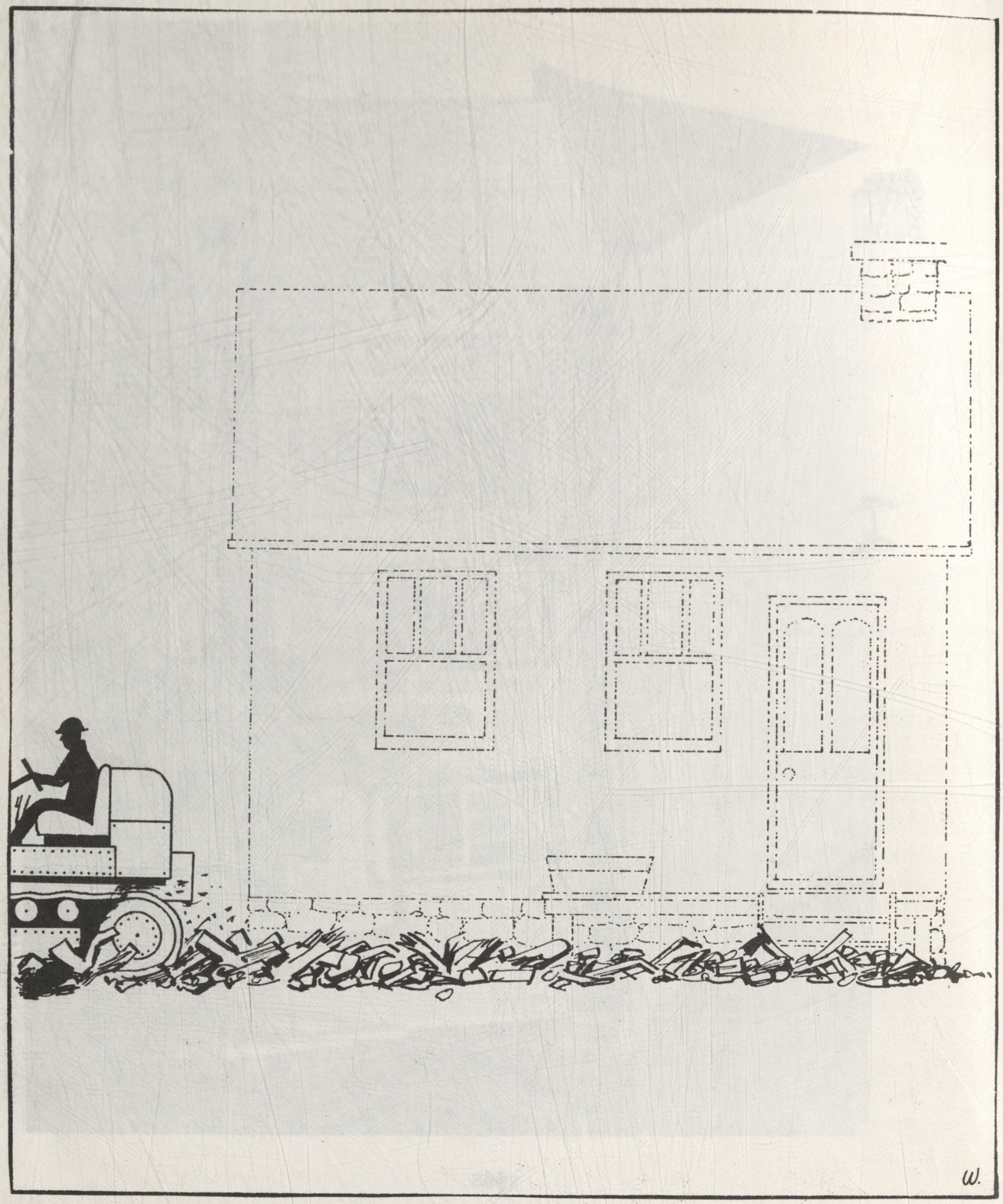
In order to achieve these ends, Jenness recommended that native children be educated in non-native schools. These schools would use a regular Canadian government approved or provincial curriculum. Jenness recommended exactly the opposite of what the Band Council's and Longhouse's representative, Matty Lazare, had recommended to the Indian Act Review committee. It was Jenness's recommendations in the end, and not the natives' that this committee took seriously.

In its final report, the committee recommended cooperation between federal and provincial officials "to bring about the future economic assimilation of Indian into the body politic." The committee recommended that the next Federal-Provincial Conference consider matters of native education, health and social services, fur conservation and development of traplines, provincial fish and game laws, provincial liquor legislation, and validity of native marriages. It suggested that financial arrangements be made to bring native people under provincial programs, and

legislation to encourage more natives to participate in the community. The Indian Act amendments of 1927 and 1930 had already made moves in this direction.

The Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, W.E. Harris, introduced the proposed Act of Bill 267 on June 7, 1950. Copies were sent to agents and native communities for comment with passage by Parliament scheduled to take place at the end of the month. It was obvious to many Members of Parliament, the press and native people that there was not enough time for consultations with native people. Two weeks was insufficient for native people to consider the Bill and make suggestions. In April 1951 a Special House Committee considered a new Indian Act. It was introduced to the House of Commons as Bill Number 79. Bill 79 passed the House of Commons on the 17th of May, 1951. On June 20 the new Indian Act became law.

Kahnawake farm: 1940's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Chapter 27
The Kanienkehaka And The Seaway

In order to understand the importance of the St. Lawrence Seaway for Euro-Americans and the Kanienkehaka, it is necessary to examine the total picture of international trade involving the Seaway and the St. Lawrence River. Centuries before Europeans ever landed in North America, native people were using the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. The St. Lawrence River was called the River of the Iroquois in these days. A team of paddlers could travel from the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, in Montagnais country, all the way through Mohawk Country, Algonquin country and into the territory of the Chippewa, Soiux, and other western nations.

The Confederacy fought two wars with the Algonquin people to keep the passage of the St. Lawrence open to travel and trade. The French and the English used this massive waterway employing Mohawk and other native voyageurs to transport goods and people into the far interior of the continent. These travels were always made in large native-styled boats, similar to the wooden war canoes used today in competition paddling.

The Kanienkehaka were to face a new battle for the St. Lawrence River, a battle in which they would not fare too well.

This chapter examines:

1. The Losing Of The River Of The Iroquois
2. The Mohawk Struggle For Fair Compensation

1. The Losing Of The River Of The Iroquois

Europeans ships could not travel past the Lachine Rapids. Ships were constructed for use on the Great Lakes and on the St. Lawrence River. These ships were confined to limited areas of navigation. The Port of Montreal became the largest port in Canada because of the Lachine Rapids. In 1825 a canal was completed at Lachine passing the rapids. This canal could only accomodate small boats and flat bottomed barges. Large ships could still not get by Montreal.

The Kahnawake river-side before the Seaway

Canada And The United States Agreed To Build The Seaway. In 1913 Canada tried to convince the United States to construct a Seaway with Canada. This could connect the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean. The United States rejected a treaty for this construction with Canada in 1932. A second treaty was discussed in 1941. It was left unsigned until 1949. Finally in May of 1954 the Congress of the United States approved participation of the United States in a joint St. Lawrence Seaway Project. The total Seaway Project cost almost 2 billion dollars. The portion near Kahnawake and Akwesasne cost about $332,500,000.

Construction began on the St. Lawrence Seaway in August of 1954. On September 16, 1955 the Privy Council of Canada passed Order in Council 1955 no. 1416. This order permitted the taking of 1260 acres of Kahnawake land for the St. Lawrence Seaway Project. The Mohawk people knew that the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority was going to try to take land from them. On March 30, 1955 a meeting was held in Kahnawake where people decided not to sell lands for the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The Kanienkehaka Of Kahnawake Were Not Unified For The Defense Of Their Land. Although most of the people agreed at this time not to sell land to the St. Lawrence Seaway

Authority, not all of the people agreed. A few sold their land right away in hope of gaining a sum of money. This divided the people. It weakened the Kanienkehaka in their fight for the recognition of the sovereignty of the Mohawk Nation. Canada was now using the same tactic that the French and the British had tried to use in dealing with the Confederacy: divide and conquer.

The Band Council during these years was becoming more and more distant from the Longhouse. The Band Council and the Longhouse had acted together in the 1940's. After the 1946-1947 review of the Indian Act, the gap between the Band Council and the Longhouse became more and more pronounced.

The People Of Kahnawake Began To Lose Hope That The Seaway Could Be Stopped. The Tuscarora were involved in a similar fight over their lands in New York State. New York State was also trying to get Seneca land for a dam project. The Tuscarora lost their case, and the people of Kahnawake were afraid to lose even more rights and land if they fought the Seaway in Canadian courts. The people knew that the fight against the Seaway was to be a long and expensive one. The Canadian government would not provide any funds for legal advice, because it was the Canadian government that the Kanienkehaka were fighting. Soon, people began to lose hope that the Seaway could be stopped. More people sold their lands.

Kahnawake had two choices. The people could either agree to sell their lands, or else fight the Seaway. The people could not do both. Instead of taking one of these positions clearly, the Band Council took both positions. It protested the expropriation of lands, and sought to discover just how much money Kahnawake could get from the Seaway. For example, in September of 1955 a memo was written seeking information on compensation for lands that were taken. The questions that the Band Council had, and the answers they received are listed below:

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONOURABLE L. CHEVRIER:

Re: Caughnawaga Indian Reserve

The questions upon which the Council of the Band of Indians of Caughnawaga, P.Q. seek some reasonable definitive answers are as follows: (I have listed the questions and have answered them hereunder in the manner in which explanations were given (when given) to the Indians in the course of Band meetings held on the Reserve or at meetings of the Band Council and the undersigned.)

I-Can assurances be given that only such land as is absolutely required by the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority will be taken, that is expropriated and that in any event such lands as will not be made use of will revert to the Band?

Seaway construction in Kahnawake displaced homes, farms and businesses.

These assurances have been given.

It has also been made clear that the lots along the shore line, numbers 309 to 317, would not be expropriated in their entirety although the people living there might be called upon to move for a few days so as to protect them in case dynamiting has to be done.

It has also been explained to the Indians that all the land being taken presently is indispensable for the working out of the project and that in some 5, 6 or perhaps 10 years time such portions as are not used for the seaway project would be abandoned and would be caused to revert to the Band. It would be up to the Band Council to pass such resolutions as would allow relocating the former occupiers on the land if such are the wishes of the Indians and if such is acceptable to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration.

2-Will the beach on the western side of the Reserve next to the wharf be safeguarded? Will arrangements be made so that a reasonable strip of water is maintained and this water keeps circulating as before?

Full assurances had been given that the beach would be maintained and that there would be a strip of water approximately 200 feet wide that would circulate from the west and next to the islands, in an easterly direction, with an opening provided in the canal works to ensure such circulation.

3-The western part of the Reserve which for the sake of convenience will be called the western triangle is according to the present understanding of the Council, to be taken "for use only."

It had been decided so far as can be seen, to expropriate all the lands within

the green line as shown on the plan prepared by Mr. Landry, with the exception of the western triangle, the use of which only would be taken. This is low land opposite the beach and the islands. It is intended to displace the houses, mainly cottages, on this portion of the reserve known as the Commons (outside the village proper), fill this low land and then to replace the houses where they stood beforehand, approximately, providing suitable foundations therefore at such time or paying compensation for disturbance.

4-Three most important questions relate to the dates: what will be the date of the expropriation; at what time will the occupiers be paid; when will the expropriated persons have to move?

In relation with the above questions, the Indians ask when they may be advised of the definitive plans with respect to the expropriation.

It may be safe to say that the expropriation would take place before September 15, 1955. At such time the maps could be made official and distributed across the reserve. At such time also all relevant information could be given, officially.

As to the money question, further remarks are made thereupon hereunder. It is the present understanding that people should move as soon as possible but that the centre part of the reserve will not be disturbed before April 1, 1956. If it is intended to remove the occupiers of the parcels of land in the eastern section and on the western triangle this autumn, they should be given clear notice thereof at the time when the expropriation is filed.

5-Is there not a possibility of getting an accountable advance in the neighbourhood of $10.00 from the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority?

It had been understood some time ago that it might be possible to set up a form of "kitty." This would represent an accountable advance in the hands of the Indian Affairs Branch. The advance could be asked for now but could not be made use of until such time as some definite idea was gathered of the amounts to be paid in compensation to each occupier.

As an illustration of the way in which the system could work it can be imagined that one Indian occupier will want to move to a lot on the Reserve that has been recently surveyed and offered for sale by the Band Council. He would not have any money to start construction on a new home... The evaluation in his case would have to be known, and it would have to have been accepted by the Indian occupier. If it has not been accepted, at least it serves as indication of the amount that would serve as the maximum that could be advanced to such Indian occupier. All monies payable by the St. Lawrence Seaway will be paid to the Receiver General of Canada and the payment to individual occupiers will be made by the direction of Indian Affairs in accordance with the terms of section 35 of the Indian Act. It is now becoming imperative that this phase of the matter be covered.

It is thus fortunate that the valuations under Mr. Ledoux's care are now mostly complete as far as individual occupiers are concerned. They should now be

reviewed as a whole, and thereafter, the Band interests should be valued, as well as such special interests as disturbance and forcibly taking on some settlement to arrive at, if possible.

Word is still awaited from the Province of Quebec as to whether or not it will waive its right to compensation with respect to its reversionary interest.

6-Will access be maintained to Ille Maline Beach?

The Chief Engineer for the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority has assured the Council of the Band that throughout the duration of the works, portions of land will have to be left in. They will serve as bridges giving access to Ille Maline; the Indians would hence not be deprived of this beach.

Once the works are completed or once the planning and engineering has progressed further, a decision would be taken as to the mode of access that could conveniently be given to the Indians.

7-Could it not be stated in writing that except for one small portion along the shore line, lots 309 to 317 will not be expropriated?

It appears that this guarantee has now been given by the President of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority. It would follow that the expropriation could now proceed excluding from the description of the portion of land that will be taken out, said lots 309 to 317.

With respect to the above, Mr. Eddy Beauvais whose house is situated on the shore line next to the wharf has asked for written confirmation of the fact that his main house will be expropriated but that the site on which stands his log cabin will not be taken. Notation of this memorandum would constitute the required confirmation.

8-The council has wondered about the question of sewage disposal and the effect of the seaway on present or street sewers.

It appears that a sewer will be built under the canal or seaway to which municipal sewer systems can be abutted, at any time. In view of the force of the water in this sewer a valve and pumping system would be provided, as need be, by the Authority.

9-Will the Authority compensate the Indians for expenses entailed in finding water or supplied due to changes in the piezometric level or otherwise?

The answer to this question would appear to be, as Mr. Gavsie had indicated, that should there be any question of water supply arising, the Seaway Authority might be prepared to indemnify the Indians, on the basis of damages or actual expenditures.

10-Will not the water level be affected and the fishing ground disappear?

This, it seems, is a question for future resolution; any loss of fishing rights would normally be compensated by including in the award to the Band as a whole an amount to cover such consequential loss to the Band of Indians as a whole.

11-What are the plans for the new highway?

It would seem that Highway number 3 to Malone, N.Y., would go round the reserve in a southerly direction from Mercier Bridge and then westward to join the old road at Chateauguay Junction or thereabouts.

12-(If that is the case will other lands be expropriated? by whom? will access to this new highway be provided? will the present tunnel be maintained? will the Province abandon its right on the highway going through the reserve recently, has thought been given to the fact that thereby the tourist trade might be affected?) (All these points have been covered generally and should be the subject of oral discussion preferably.)

Highway number 9 would be relocated within the expropriated area.

It appears that the same holds true for the C.N.R. right-of-way and encroachments.

13-How much will the Band as such get as indemnity and will this compensation be taken out of awards made to individual occupiers?

The answer to the second portion of this question is an emphatic no. Valuations made up to now cover only individual occupiers, the Band interests are to be valued separately, as hereabove indicated. One whole amount is to be paid by the Seaway Authority to the Receiver General as full and final compensation. The band interests are to be valued separately and a portion thereof being 10 to 12 per cent of the total amount for individual holdings, would be transferred to Band funds as representing the Band interest. The balance of the monies, since there is bound to be a balance would go towards general improvements on the reserve. This last question is of indirect interest to the Authority.
Band

(Signed) L.A. Couture, [1]

The Seaway Opened: Kahnawake Was No Longer "By The Rapids".

At the same time that the Band Council was preparing to discuss compensation for lands taken by the Seaway Authority, they were fighting the Seaway's right to take the land in the courts. This tactic was taken in order to cover all eventualities. It did not prove to be a successful tactic however. By both fighting the Seaway and negotiating compensation, the people became divided on just what to do. Once divided in this fashion, the Kanienkehaka were not able to stand up to the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority.

In April of 1959 the St. Lawrence Seaway opened to seagoing ships. The Seaway was inaugurated by Queen Elizabeth and President Eisenhower. Canada and the United States had a new major waterway. The Kanienkehaka had lost their river. They were now separated from the river by a canal that created an artificial barrier between the people and the water.

Kahnawake was no longer "By the Rapids".

2. The Mohawk Struggle For Fair Compensation

It would be a mistake to blame the St. Lawrence Seaway on any individual, or even on a particular institution. The Seaway was a defeat for the Kanienkehaka. It reminded people of the kind of treatment that native people can expect from the Canadian and the American governments. The Kanienkehaka did not take a strong and singular stand on the Seaway. They lost their fight to stop the Seaway and accepted compensation. In the end, the Kanienkehaka even lost in their fight to receive fair compensation.

At first the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority tried to get the people to sign forms agreeing to sell their lands and accept a cash advance. The remainder of the cash would be paid at a later date at a price that was acceptable to both the Seaway Authority and the people. Many of the older native people did not realize what these forms meant. They signed them until the Band Council started a campaign to stop this practice. A copy of the form that was used to get these lands is offered here:

Receipt For Advance

I, the undersigned, acknowledge that I have this day had and received of and from the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority the sum of

($).

THAT the aforesaid sum is paid by the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority and is received by me without prejudice to a final determination of the total amount of compensation to be paid me in respect of the expropriation by the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority of my interest in the following lands within Caughnawaga Indian Reserve:

THAT the aforesaid sum shall be credited against the total amount of compensation as finally determined and upon payment in full of the total amount of compensation as finally determined, I undertake to give a full and final release.

THAT I undertake to vacate or cause to be vacated the above described lands and premises forthwith.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand at

Caughnawaga, P.Q.,
this day of 1956.

In the Presence of:

The St. Lawrence Seaway Authority And Department Of Indian Affairs Did Not Want The Kanienkehaka To Receive Fair Compensation. A debate developed as to what amount of money people should be paid for their lands, once they were taken. The Seaway Authority wanted to pay as low as 15¢ per square foot. The Department of Indian Affairs agreed with the Seaway Authority. The Department of Indian Affairs wanted the money to go to them and not to the people of Kahnawake.

The Band Council knew that the land was worth more than what was being offered. They hired their own appraiser to tell them exactly what the land was worth. The appraiser that was hired was John Pitt of Montreal.

An appraiser evaluates the worth of property. One piece of property that was in question is the property that belonged to Mrs. Annie Myiow. According to the Seaway Authority the property that was located just outside of the tunnel at Kahnawake was worth $40,700. According to the Department of Indian Affairs the property was worth $50,000. According to the appraiser hired by the Band Council, the property was worth $108,000. The Kanienkehaka were not being paid the same amount for their land as the non-native people whose homes the Seaway destroyed.

The Kanienkehaka finally gave into the St. Lawrence Seaway, they set out to try to get the most money for their lands as possible. In addition to the money that was paid to individual Band members for their lands, the people of Kahnawake were given a settlement of 4 million dollars that went into the general Band funds. This money can be used by the community of Kahnawake for projects and investments of the people's choice.

What Is The Value Of The Lost Land? The question that must be asked is, what was the true value of the lands taken by the St. Lawrence Seaway? Can this loss be measured for the people of Kahnawake in terms of dollars and cents? Probably not.

Before the Seaway was built, the village bordered right on the river. Early in the morning, people living in the village went down to the river to collect water, wash clothes, or in the summer take a splash in the water. There were small islands off of the shore of the river. Horses used to roam about the village. Every morning these horses made their way for the river. Children seeing them coming would scramble out of the way as the horses charged into the water. These horses made their way to the islands to spend a lazy day of grazing.

The Mohawk people had close ties

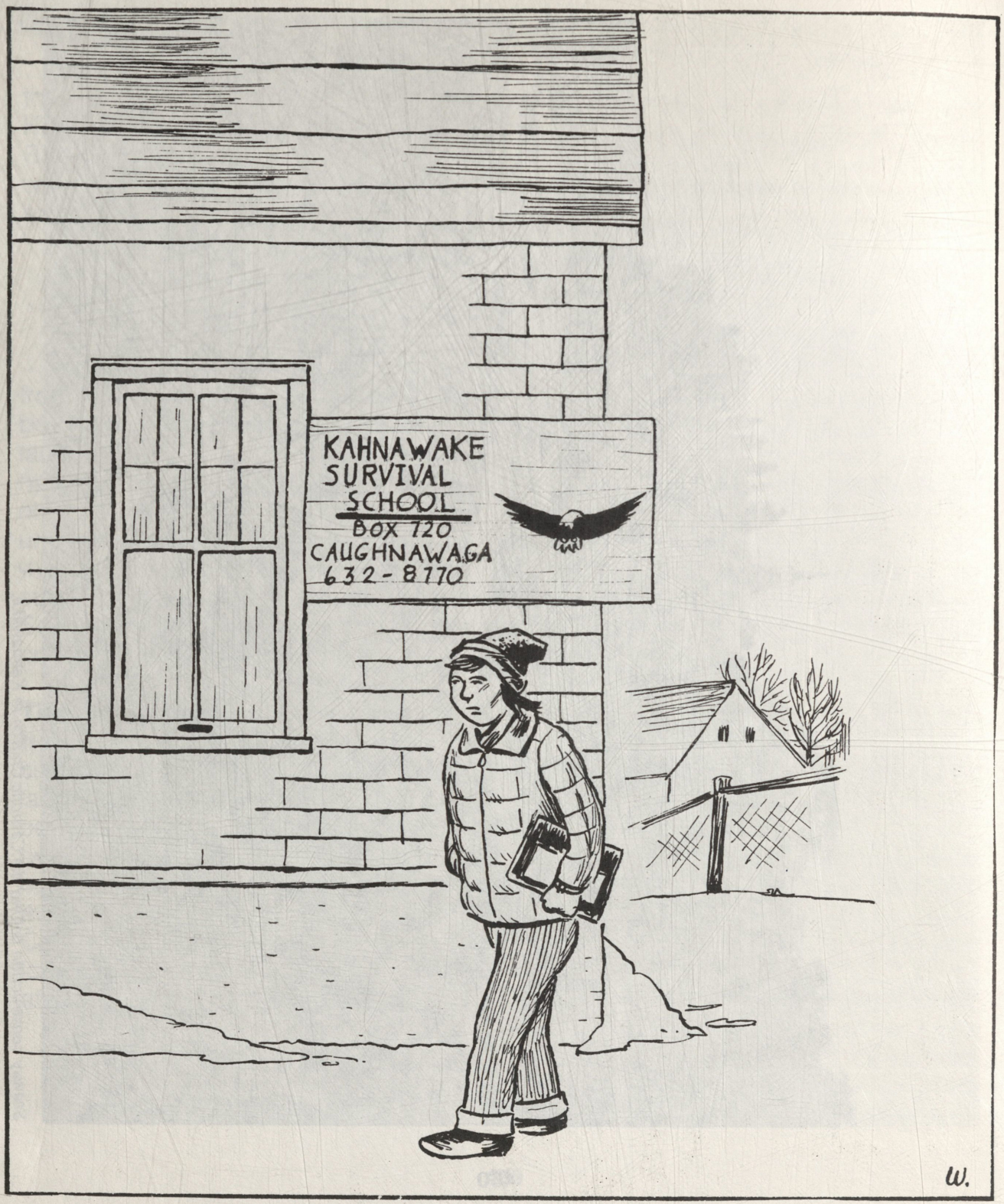
to the river. All settlements of the Kanienkehaka on the St. Lawrence River had always been close to the water's edge. An old man recently said:

> The river was part of our life. It changed and we changed, but it was always there. When we let the Seaway get put in, we let them take away part of our life.

Some of the lands that were taken from the people of Kahnawake have been returned as common lands. More lands were taken then were actually needed. The Seaway Authority recognized this fact by agreeing to return unused lands twenty years after they were taken. Despite the fact that these surplus lands were returned, the Seaway proved to be a blow to the pride of the people of Kahnawake.

The Band Council And The Longhouse Drifted Wider Apart. The building of the Seaway through Mohawk land was a terrible let down to Mohawk people. In general, the divisions between the Band Council and the Longhouse increased. In the next ten years, the relationship between the Band Council and the Longhouse came to a low point. This created tensions that affected events of the 1960's and 70's.

Seaway construction behind the Catholic Church in Kahnawake.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SCHOOL
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CAUGHNAWAGA
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Chapter 28
The Kanienkehaka Strike Back

The St. Lawrence Seaway was a defeat for the Mohawk people. But losing a battle does not mean losing a war. In the late 1960's and 1970's the Kanienkehaka came back fighting. This was especially evident at Akwesasne, Kahnawake, and at the new Mohawk settlement of Ganienkeh.

This chapter looks at:

1. Reactions In Akwesasne and Kahnawake Against Encroachments On Mohawk Sovereignty
2. Ganienkeh
3. Kanesatake: A New School And Defense Of Mohawk Land
4. The Kahnawake Survival School

1. Reactions In Akwesasne And Kahnawake Against Encroachments On Mohawk Sovereignty.

According to the Jay Treaty of 1794, The Kanienkehaka were recognized as sovereign with respect to the international border between the United States and Canada. Article Three of the Jay Treaty states:

> No Duty on Entry shall ever be levied by either party on peltries brought by land, or inland navigation into the said territories respectively, nor shall the Indians passing or repassing with their own proper goods and effects of whatever. But goods in bales or other large packages unusual among the Indians shall not be considered as goods belonging bona fide to Indians. [1]

In 1956 the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in the case of Francis vs. The Queen that native people were not exempt from paying duty and tax on goods purchased in the United States. By making this ruling, the Supreme Court of Canada was violating the Jay Treaty, with respect to native people. The Kanienkehaka of Akwesasne were able to ignore the ruling in its practical implications. But, they knew that the Canadian government was preparing for a confrontation over border rights. The ruling still stood, but the Immigration and Customs officials backed down and did not try to collect duty from Mohawk people traveling from one side of Akwesasne to the other.

Akwesasne Demanded More Native Control Of Education. In the Spring of 1968 the people of Akwesasne learned that the New York State legislature had budgeted $1,750,000 for the construction of a new school that would be attended, in part by Mohawk children. The Kanienkehaka wanted to have their own school for children in Akwesasne. They pointed out quite correctly that native people had no control over the curriculum of the schools that native children attended. The Kanienkehaka were angered by the fact that they had not been consulted or told about the new school plans. The people called for a boycott of all schools off of the reserve.

One of the major grievances against the schools was the lack of any programs dealing with the cultural history of native people. To remedy this situation, the Longhouse began teaching classes on Mohawk language, culture and history. At first these classes were taught in the Longhouse. Then they were moved to the Catholic Community Center and finally into the schools. An order was issued by the Indian Agent (in Cornwall, Ontario) to cease teaching Mohawk culture at Cornwall Island school because the teachers were not certified.

The results of this action led to a wave of protests by many people of Akwesasne. Many harsh charges were leveled at the Canadian Band Council for not supporting the teaching of Mohawk culture and history. A letter to the Band Council asked: "How can anyone deny one's own people their culture and their own being?" The authors of the letter expressed their fear of being culturally assimilated. They reasoned that:

> the culture, if taught in the schools, will neutralize the objective of education of attempting to assimilate the Indian into the mainstream of middle class society, by helping the Indian to keep his identity.[2]

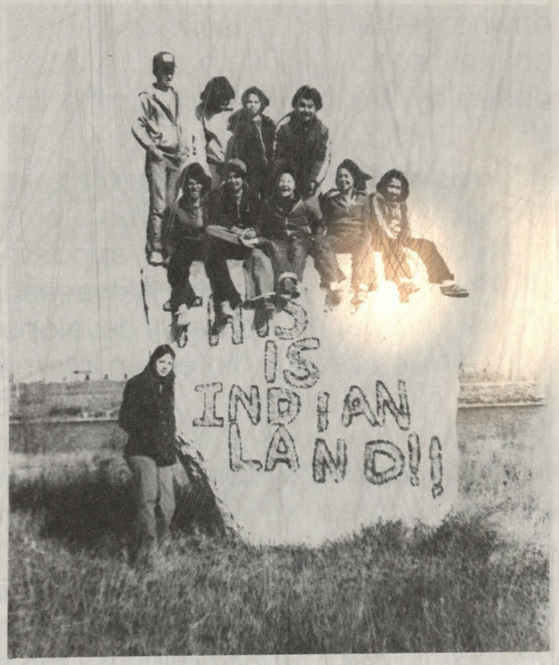
The Kanienkehaka were not able to get their own school in Akwesasne. The boycott was somewhat effective, however. The Mohawk people were granted the right to vote in school elections. It was a partial victory for the Kanienkehaka. It paved the way for more developments towards native people gaining control over their own education.

Kahnawake Combined Its Schools. Education became an important concern of Kahnawake in the late 1960's as well. In 1967 the people decided to lay aside religious differences in the schools. The Protestant School Committee met with the Catholic School Committee and worked out negotiations for joining in a Combined School Committee. This new Kahnawake Combined School Committee

was made up of four Catholic representatives chosen at yearly elections, four Protestants representatives also chosen at yearly elections, and two Longhouse representatives appointed by the traditional people. After the Combined School Committee was formed, the separation of children in the schools according to religion ended. Mohawk children of Catholic parents, Protestant parents and Longhouse parents were all able to go to school together.

In 1968 Kahnawake children started going to Howard S. Billings Regional High School in Chateauguay. This arrangement was negotiated with the Band Council, the Chateauguay Valley Regional School Board in Chateauguay and the Department of Indian Affairs. The Department of Indian Affairs was eager to support the project of educating native children in non-native schools. This was exactly what Diamond Jenness had recommended to the Indian Act Review Committee in 1947 as the best way of assimilating native children into Canadian society.

The Kanienkehaka Blockaded The International Bridge At Cornwall Island. In December of 1968 the Immigration and Customs officials of Canada decided to begin charging duty on goods purchased by Akwesasne residents of Cornwall in the



United States. On December 18, 1968 more than two hundred residents of Akwesasne and Kahnawake gathered on Cornwall Island to block the international bridge. Forty eight people were arrested in this action.

By this time the Mohawk people had had enough. Their rights had been violated time and time again by the United States and Canadian governments. They decided to do something about it. Catholics, Protestants and traditional people all joined in on the Blockade. The supporters of the Band Council and the Elective system in Akwesasne joined with the Longhouse to protest this violation of Mohawk sovereignty. All of these people sat

down together and organized a people's committee to deal with the problems posed by the international borderline.

Akwesasne Notes Began Operations. Around the same time a small mimeographed newspaper appeared at Akwesasne called the Akwesasne News. This paper eventually developed into the Akwesasne Notes, an international journal with a circulation of 100,000. Because the Akwesasne Notes is completely controlled by native people, it does not rely upon government grants to continue operations. It can afford to tell the truth about what is happening today in the world to native people. The Notes has become a forum for the discussion of ideas and news.

Kahnawake Students Held A Walkout In 1970. Tensions for change were evident in both Akwesasne and Kahnawake throughout the late 1960's and into 1970. In 1970 the Kahnawake students attending Howard S. Billings Regional High School in Chateauguay staged a walkout. They did this on their own, without advice or encouragement from parents or any particular political group. The Kahnawake students stated that they wanted to have their own high school in Kahnawake. They wanted that school to teach the truth about Mohawk history and culture, and they wanted to be taught Mohawk language.

A compromise was reached with the Mohawk students. The school agreed to offer Mohawk classes and an Indian Studies program. Reluctantly, the students agreed. They accepted the compromise, but many still felt that a school was badly needed in Kahnawake. The traditional people especially felt this concern. In 1969 the traditional people started a high school at the Longhouse called the Indian Way School.

The Longhouse And Band Council Clashed Over Evictions. In October 1973, the Longhouse and Band Council in Kahnawake clashed over the matter of evicting non-native families from Kahnawake. A few native families were living off of the reserve because of a housing shortage. At the same time, some non-native families were renting homes in Kahnawake. Many of the people of Kahnawake felt that the non-native families should leave Kahnawake so that the homes they were renting could be available for Mohawk families.

Both the Longhouse and Band Council expressed the desire to evict non-native families. However, the Longhouse and Band Council could not agree as to the manner in which non-native families should be evicted. Some representatives of the Longhouse

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YACC BCI
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BIA FBI CI
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A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

began to issue eviction notices to non-native families.

Members of the Band Council were upset by the Longhouse's actions, and ordered the police force in Kahnawake to stop the Longhouse representatives from issuing eviction notices. By this time a large number of people from other native communities had come to Kahnawake to support the Longhouse. There were only ten men in the Kahnawake police force. The police force asked for assistance from the R.C.M.P. and the Quebec Provincial Police. The R.C.M.P and Q.P.P. refused to assist the Kahnawake police. The Kahnawake police force resigned. Three days after the resignation of the police force, the Band Council called in the Q.P.P. to patrol Kahnawake.

Many people of Kahnawake thought that it was a mistake to call in the Q.P.P. to patrol the streets of a Mohawk settlement. There were ill feelings about it. Some damage was done to Q.P.P. patrol cars. Although there were divisions within Kahnawake, the Kanienkehaka did not fight amongst themselves.

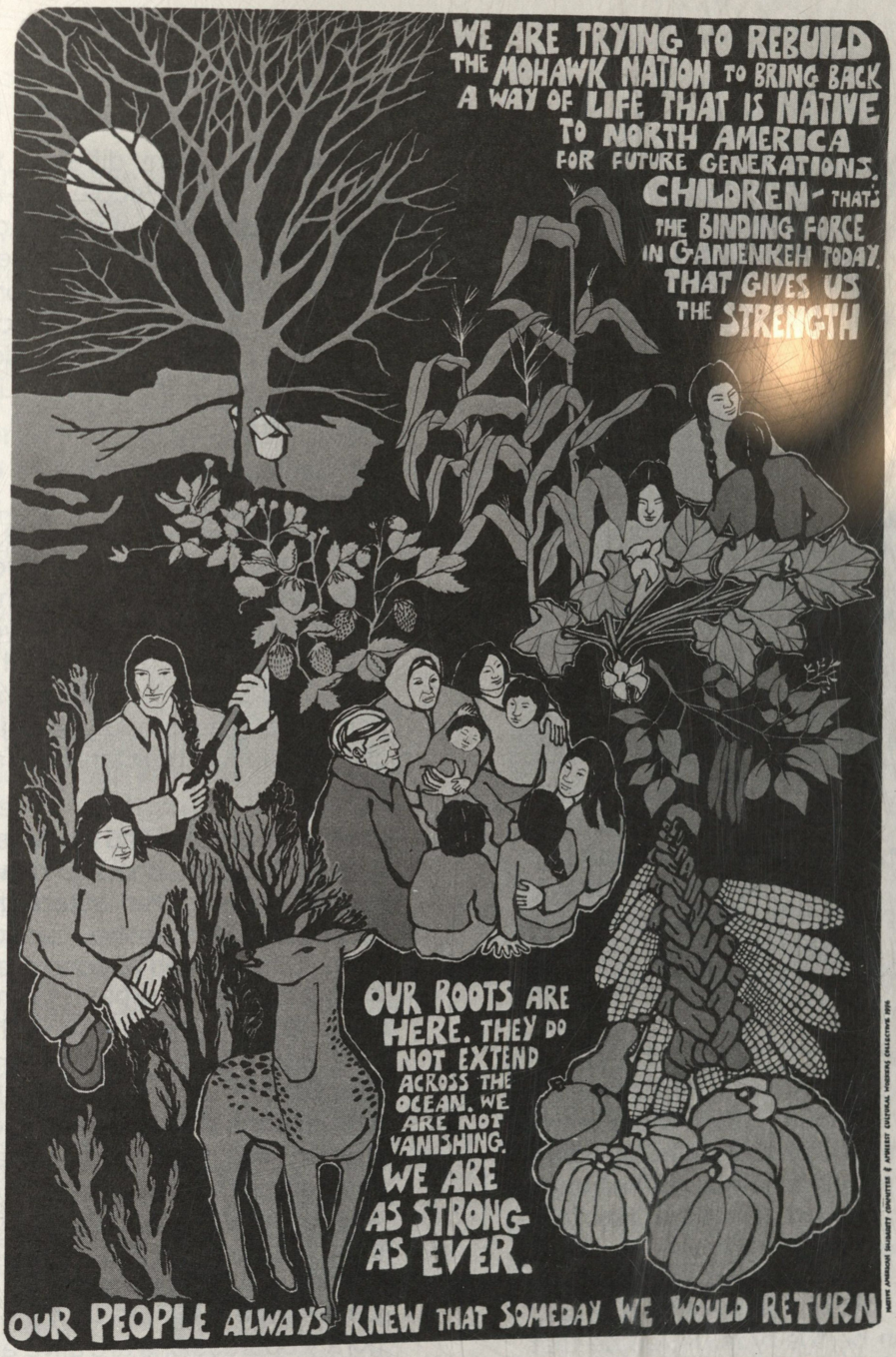
For some time prior to the events of the evictions, the traditionalists had been discussing the possibility of reclaiming and settling on land in other areas of Mohawk territory. After the evictions, these people turned their energies to the establishment of a new settlement.

2. Ganienkeh

Mohawk land covers over 9 million acres. Most of this land was taken from the Kanienkehaka illegally. On numerous occasions throughout history, the Kanienkehaka have made moves to reclaim this land. In 1855 claims were put against the State of Vermont. Vermont published a study called the Hodgkins Report that acknowledged that the Kanienkehaka had a valid claim to this area.

In the late 1890's Mohawk people had approached the State of New York about reclaiming land in the Adirondacks. In 1957 a group of Kanienkehaka from Kahnawake occupied land at Fort Hunter, New York, site of the traditional settlement of Tiononderoge. The Fort Hunter settlement was abandoned after one year. The project did not have enough preparation or supporters.

Mohawk People Settled At Moss Lake. On May 12, 1974 a group of Kanienkehaka left Kahnawake, Akwesasne and Tyendinaga and drove to Moss Lake. There they settled on a 612 acre lot in the Aridondacks. Akwesasne Notes printed the following article about the settlement of Ganienkeh:



DEFEND SUPPORT ENTESENE DENTSNIENE

GANIENKEH

REBORN 13 MAY 1974 IN GANIENKEH TERRITORY

GANIENKEH INDIAN PROJECT via EAGLE BAY N.Y. 13331 or FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:

On May 13, 1974, a large contingent of Mohawk People, with some friends and allies from the Hotinonsonni and other North American nations, began an occupation of a small piece of land in the central Adirondack Mountains, land which New York State claims it owns.

The action was quite different from other North American occupations of recent years. This time, the primary purpose of the native group was not to stage some kind of protest, or to call attention to the oft-vaunted "plight of the Indian". From the beginning, the occupied site, called Ganienkeh – the Mohawk word for the country of the Mohawks, meaning Land of the Flint Stone – was intended as a move to regain Mohawk homeland, to settle it, and to stay there to reestablish the way of life of the nation.

The move to establish the settlement was not an act of rebellion or revolution, but as part of a struggle for liberation. It was not so much an attempt to create something new, but rather was an effort to strengthen something eternal – the Mohawk Nation.

"Ganienkeh to us is an area of land that has always belonged to our People for many generations before Europeans came here. It's an area where Indian people are free to practice their own form of government and follow their own spiritual ceremonies. It is a place where we can live in harmony and closeness to the Earth. It is a place where Indian people can be the type of people that were put here by the Creator," a statement from the settlement said.

"Ganienkeh is many different things to most of the Indian People who are living here now. Basically, it is a place where we can live our own way of life and not be dominated by a culture or society that is non-Indian. It is a place where we're free to follow our own destiny as we see it and in the Way of Life we've been given."

But Ganienkeh is not a sort of Indian Utopia. In real ways, it is a practical attempt at survival by a people, some of whom only a few months prior to the move had been in armed conflict with provincial police in Quebec over issues relative to encroachments on their lands there. And of course, many of the people from other places had seen similar encroachments of their lands for a number of years.

Most United States and Canadian people have difficulty in coming to an understanding of why the establishment of Ganienkeh should be supported by them. Others even oppose Ganienkeh, feeling that while the past may have been unjust to the Mohawk Nation, the past is past, and they are not responsible for their father's sins. But there are important reasons why Ganienkeh deserves support, and it is important that people understand that the reasons Ganienkeh was established did not arise out of the past, but come from contemporary situations. The oppressions of the 18th Century are gone by – but the contemporary oppressions are alive and well in the 1970's...

Ganienkeh has not been a place to escape to – it has been a place to build

from. And people who would go there need to understand that a self-sufficient community is one in which people are productive in the real sense, i.e., hard-working on useful tasks. Ganienkeh continues to need people – stable responsible people whose motivations include a strong determination to work together with others to make a good life for their children and the future.

The people at Ganienkeh established the community knowing it would be hard work, that there would be difficulties, that it would require struggle. But they were motivated by a high degree of consciousness of the meaning of responsibility. They put aside their own desires for comfort and the "easy way" and directed their lives toward the best interests of the children and their children's children. They continue to need people who can understand the nature of struggle as requiring sacrifices and compromise, Ganienkeh is a place where that goes on every day.

Ganienkeh has survived, and continued to grow. It is unique among North America's conscious communities, for it is a real effort at practice against oppression by a people who have long been the oppressed. It is a community which deserves the support of native and non-native peoples alike, for it represents a true expression of the human determination to seek freedom, and a search for the Real Ways of Life by a group of human beings on the land the Creator gave to them for that purpose. [3]

The State of New York wanted to forcibly evacuate the Kanienkehaka from their encampment at Moss Lake. Local non-native vigilantes began harassing the Kanienkehaka. In October of 1974 a shooting incident occured. Two non-natives drove past the settlement shooting guns off in an attempt to incite and draw fire from the Mohawk people. The early history of the Ganienkeh settlement was also marked by attacks upon the settlement by the New York State Police.

The New York Supreme Court Ruled That Ganienkeh Was Part Of The Mohawk Nation. In May of 1977, after four and one half years of

occupation at Moss Lake, the State of New York entered into negotiations with the Kanienkehaka. These negotiations resulted in an agreement whereby the Kanienkehaka would occupy a portion of agricultural land in Clinton County, New York, and rent a large forest preserve at Schuyler Falls, New York. Actually the rental of the forest preserve was between the State of New York and the Turtle Island Trust. The Turtle Island Trust is a legal institution created under New York law to help New York State deal with Mohawk people.

Some people, native and non-native, did not approve of the Kanienkehaka reclaiming their lands in New York State. A group of non-native people tried to sue the Kanienkehaka of the Ganienkeh settlement. New York State Supreme Court Judge De Forest Pitt heard the argument against the Kanienkehaka and ruled in a six page memorandum that the Ganienkeh settlement is part of the Mohawk Nation and the Six Nations Confederacy. As such it enjoys sovereign immunity from lawsuit.

The Mohawk Nation Is Still Working To Reclaim Mohawk land. The agreement that the Ganienkeh settlement has with the State of New York through the Turtle Island Trust is an interim agreement. This means that

it is a temporary solution to a long range program for the reclamation of 9 million acres of Mohawk lands. The Kanienkehaka are optimistic about the future. They are using all of the tools at their disposal, educational, legal, cultural and military to get back for the Mohawk Nation what it has lost in the past.

3. Kanesatake: A New School And Defense Of Mohawk Land

The 1970's were a time of fighting back for the Kanienkehaka of Kanesatake. The native people asserted themselves on two important issues: the establishment of the Kanesatake Indian School, and the pursuit of land claims for their lands at Kanesatake.

The Kanesatake Indian School Opened. The native population at Kanesatake is small compared to communities like Akwesasne and Kahnawake. The total number of Kanienkehaka who are part of the Kanesatake community is only about 800. The number of school age children is small. It is difficult for a community to have its own school with such a small population.

The people of Kanesatake were concerned that they did not have a great deal of say in the education of their children. At the time there was only one school in Kanesatake, a small school for nursery and kindergarten. The Mohawk children of elementary school age were bussed to school in St. Eustache. The Mohawk secondary school students were bussed to school in Deux Montagnes. Both of these communities are about 25 miles from Kanesatake.

The people of Kanesatake decided that they should have their own elementary school. After several years of planning, the Kanesatake Indian school opened in September of 1976 with classes for nursery school to grade six. The Kanienkehaka of Kanesatake now have a greater say in what goes on in the elementary school education of their children. The secondary school students still attend high school in Deux Montagnes.

Kanesatake Was Denied Title To Its Land. The Kanesatake people have been struggling for control of their lands for a long time. At first it was a struggle with the Sulpicians. Now it is the Canadian federal government. Throughout the 1970's Kanesatake prepared a land claim for the title of their lands. The land claim is yet to be decided on.

One of the things that has been a sensitive problem in Kanesatake is the use of their common lands. Their title to a large part of their common lands has long been denied by the government.

Indian students defy Bill 101

Etudiants Indien protêt la loi 101

One area of the common lands is the Pines. The Pines is a recreational area for the Mohawk people. It is situated outside the town of Oka and runs from the main highway by the Lake of Two Mountains to a backroad that leads up to the foothills of the Laurentian Mountains.

The Pines is a beautiful area. It is so called because of the many large pine trees that grow throughout the area. The pine trees were planted years ago to stop the sandy soil from eroding. A road stretches from the main highway to the small backroad. Near the end of this road that is near the highway is the lacrosse field. At the other end of this road is the softball field..

Throughout this section of the Pines, the people of Kanesatake spend much of their summer leisure time. It is ideal for picnics, bonfires, field days and sporting events. The Mohawk people take great care in keeping the Pines clean and the grass cut.

Kanesatake Fought For The Pines. A popular summer activity is softball. Several times in the summer, Kanesatake takes part in tournaments with other native teams from communities such as Akwesasne, Kahnawake, Tyendinaga and Maniwaki.

In the summer of 1977 the Kanienkehaka had to fight again for the use of their common lands. Softball teams

from the town of Oka, which is mainly French-Canadian, played in a league with other non-native communities in the area. Without consulting the Mohawk people, the non-native softball teams from Oka scheduled the use of the softball field in the Pines for their practices and games. On several occasions Mohawk teams showed up for practices or games to find teams from the town of Oka using the field. On these occasions the native people patiently let the non-native teams play. However, tensions were rising.

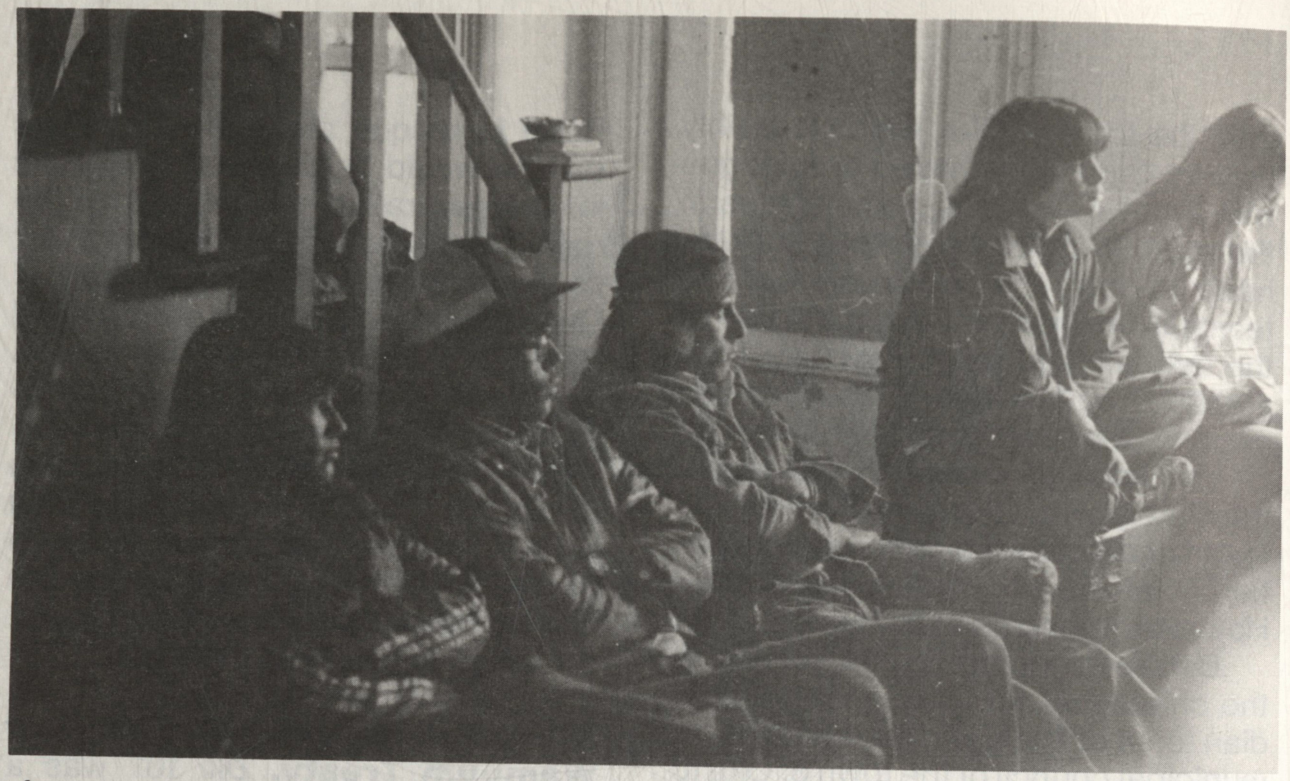
Before things got too far, several of the chiefs met with the French-Canadian team officials and members of the municipal council of the town of Oka to discuss the situation. The French-Canadians recognized the Mohawk rights to the Pines. Shortly after, a softball field was put up in the town of Oka for the non-native teams. The Mohawk use of the Pines was left undisturbed.

4. The Kahnawake Survival School

No history is ever complete. As history gets written down, events occur that make news seem old, giving a different view of the past and the future. In November of 1976 the Parti Québécois was elected to power in the Province. The leader of the Parti Québécois, René Levesque pledged Quebecers that he would begin the negotiations for the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada. As part of this plan for separation, the National Assembly of Quebec passed a law into effect called Bill 101, The Charter of The French Language. In this legislature native people were referred to as if they were immigrants in their own land. According to Bill 101 , native children attending school outside of their communities who wished to receive an education in the English language were required to apply for an Eligibility Certificate.

Bill 101 Violated The Two Row Wampum Treaty. Bill 101 was a direct violation of the Two Row Wampum Treaty. It attacks the sovereignty of the Mohawk people. The Mohawk people felt that if they signed the application for a license for an English education, they would be recognizing the right of the provincial government to legislate culture and education for native peoples. This was unacceptable to the people.

The Combined School Committee of Kahnawake sponsored a series of meetings in Kahnawake to protest Bill 101. The Kanienkehaka asked that native people be exempted from the legislation. Both the Department of Education and the administration of the Chateauguay Valley Regional School Board re-



fused to yield to the Mohawk demands.

On September 6th, 1978, the Mohawk students enrolled at Howard S. Billings High School marched from Chateauguay to Kahnawake with approximately 800 supporters.

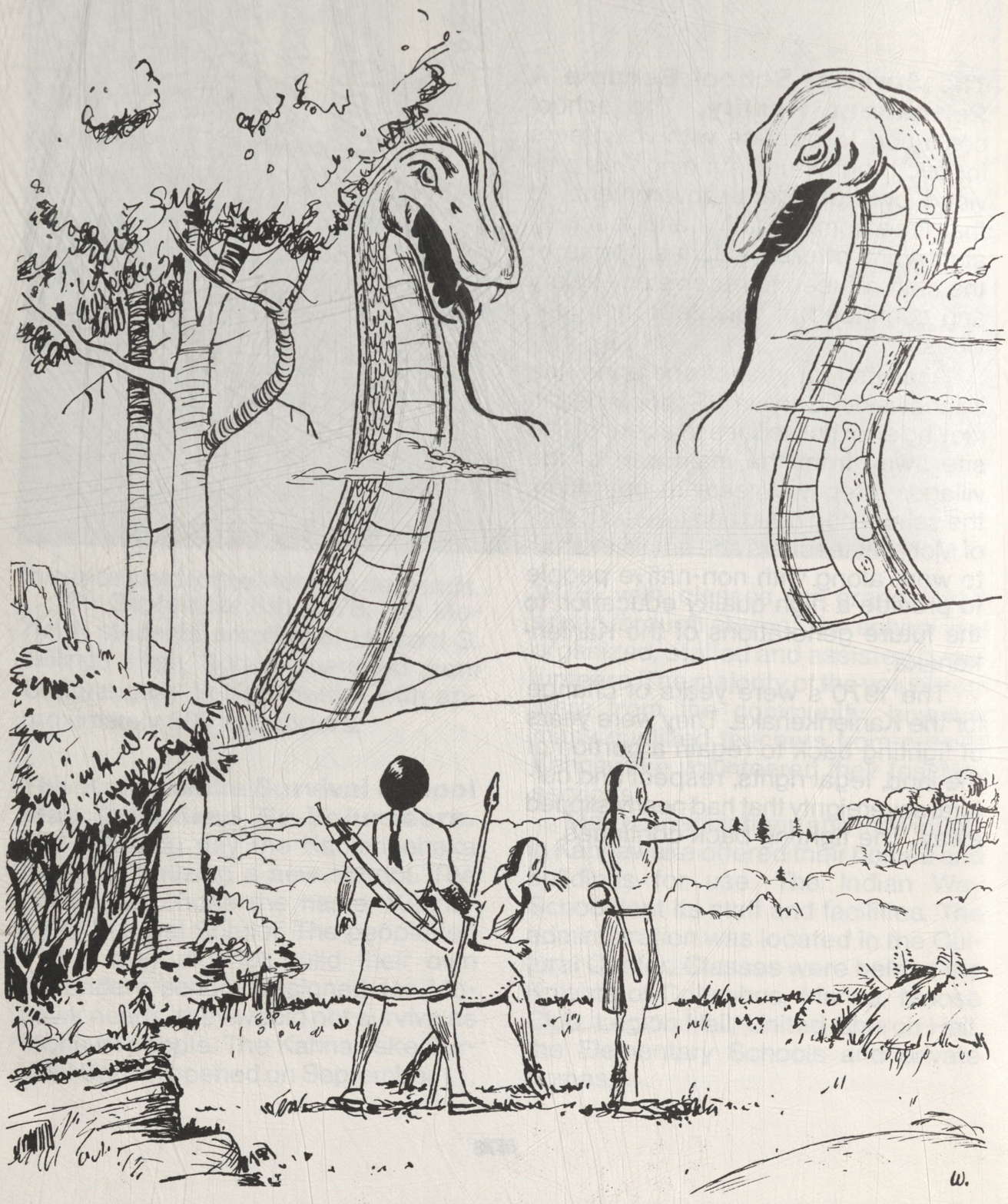
The Kahnawake Survival School Was Organized By Volunteers. The following day the Kanienkehaka began organizing a new school. The community chose the name, Kahnawake Survival School. The people felt that if they did not build their own secondary school designed for Mohawk needs, they would not survive as Mohawk people. The Kahnawake Survival School opened on September 11, 1978, with classes for grade levels seven through eleven. The school was organized, staffed and assisted by volunteers. The majority of the volunteers were from the community, however many qualified teachers from outside Kahnawake volunteered their teaching services.

Many organizations and individuals in Kahnawake offered their homes and buildings for use. The Indian Way School lent its staff and facilities. The administration was located in the Cultural Center. Classes were held at the Knights of Columbus, Marina, Moose Club, Legion Hall, United Church Hall, the Elementary Schools and private homes.

The Survival School Became A Permanent Reality. The school continued to operate with volunteers for two months until funding was provided by the federal government. At that time administrative and teaching staff were offered salaries. Some of the staff refused to receive any salary and continued to volunteer their services.

After its first year of operation, the Kahnawake Survival School began moving all of its facilities to a centralized site away from the main part of the village. After two years of operation, the school had hired and trained a staff of Mohawk teachers and administrators to work along with non-native people to provide a high quality education to the future generations of the Kanienkehaka.

The 1970's were years of change for the Kanienkehaka. They were years of fighting back to regain a portion of the land, legal rights, respect and cultural sovereignty that had nearly slipped away. The fighting back continues.


W.

Chapter 29

Two Prophecies: Hopes And Fears For The Future

In every culture, every society, there are men and women who possess a special talent or power for prophecy. The ancient Hebrews of the Bible were proud of their prophets. They recognized the importance of prophecies and recorded the words of the prophets in their sacred writings. Some of the known Biblical prophets were Elijah, Jeremiah and Isaiah.

Prophets sometimes predict the future. Sometimes they simply point out what is happening right now. Many prophets do both. Prophets are honest men and women. They say exactly what they see, and for this reason, they are sometimes not very popular.

The native nations of the Americas have a long tradition of prophecy. Most nations had prophecies that foretold of the coming of Europeans to the Americas. They told of the coming of the explorers from the east, and of course these men did arrive.

This chapter discusses:

1. The Prophecy Of The Seventh Generation
2. The Prophecy Of The Two Serpents
3. A Turbulent History

1. The Prophecy Of The Seventh Generation

Another prophecy that is common to many native nations of the Americas is the prophecy of the Seventh Generation. This is one prophecy that young native people, especially young Mohawk people, should pay attention to and consider.

According to the prophecy of the Seventh Generation, seven generations after contact with Europeans, the Onkwehonwe would see the day when the elm trees would die.

Shadowed Elm

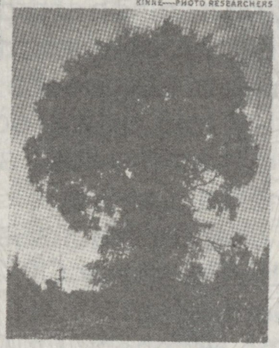
Fighting for a favorite tree

Graceful and majestic, their delicate, almond-shaped leaves framed against summer skies, elms once grew thickly in the forests of the eastern U.S. and served as shade trees along thousands of Main Streets. Then, in the early 1930s, disaster struck. A load of elm logs arrived from Europe infested with a parasitic fungus. First identified in 1919 by Dutch plant pathologists, the fungus, *Ceratocystis ulmi*, invades the elm's vascular system, clogging it and causing death. Beginning in the Cleveland and New York City areas, then in scores of other communities across the nation, American elms died by the thousands from the fungal infection: Dutch elm disease.

Even now, more than 60 years after its discovery, the blight annually kills 400,000 trees in the U.S. Cutting and removal—the only sure way of stopping the spread of the fungus, which is borne chiefly by bark beetles from tree to tree—costs $100 million a year, to say nothing of the aesthetic price. In many Northern cities, once shaded thoroughfares are treeless and barren. In Milwaukee, where more than 100,000 elms flourished in 1956, barely one-fifth still stand. In Champaign-Urbana, Ill., there were 14,000 elms at the end of World War II. Now there are only 220. A celebrated loss occurred a year and a half ago, when one of the most venerable elms on the White House lawn, planted in the days of Rutherford B. Hayes, had to be felled and carted off.

With generous government and private fun[illegible] and plant pathologists have been trying to ste[illegible] success. They have developed effective fu[illegible] chemicals are injected into the trees, they do not p[illegible] Other strategies under test include trim[illegible] eased and nondiseased trees, which can provide [illegible]

KINNE—PHOTO RESEARCHERS



WALTER BENNETT

Healthy elm; dying White House tree

Disaster along Main Street.

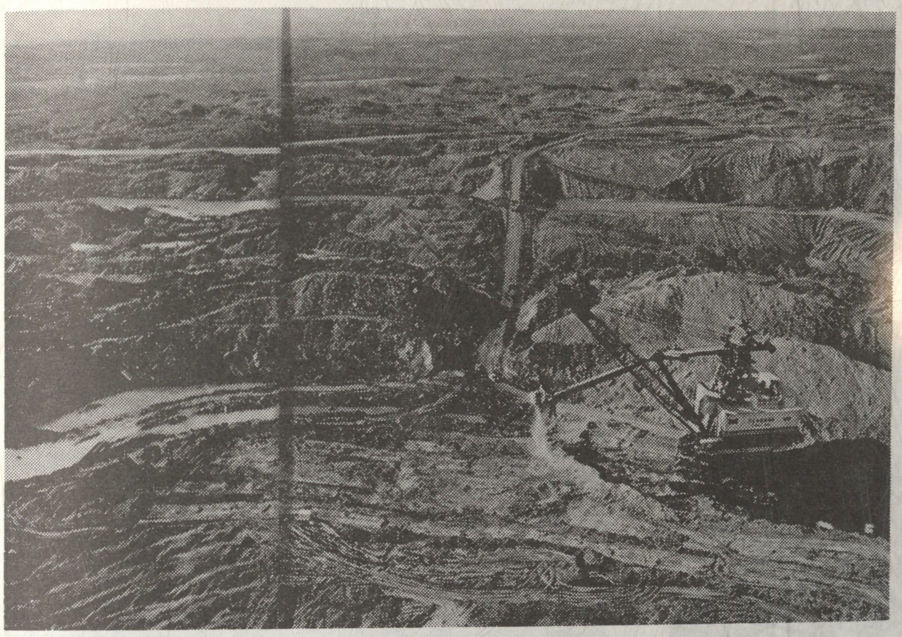
At the University of Wisconsin in Madison, scientists have resorted to cloning, hybridization and other techniques to develop many kinds of disease-resistant elm. But none look like *Ulmus americana*, and all proved unpopular. Says Plant Pathologist Eugene Smalley: "The resistance thing is the easy part. Getting a tree that nurseries will use, that's tough." Smalley's best hope: a rare hybrid called the Sapporo Autumn Gold elm, a cross of Japanese and Siberian elms. It resists the disease and, at least in its youth, resembles the American elm.

The latest tactic against the fungus pits bug against bug. Plant Pathologist Gary Strobel at Montana State University has been injecting pseudomonad bacteria into infected trees: the microbes multiply and attack the fungus. Strobel's program is still in the experimental stage, but there have been some modestly promising results. In Sioux Falls, S. Dak., for instance, injections were given to 20 badly diseased trees; seven were saved.

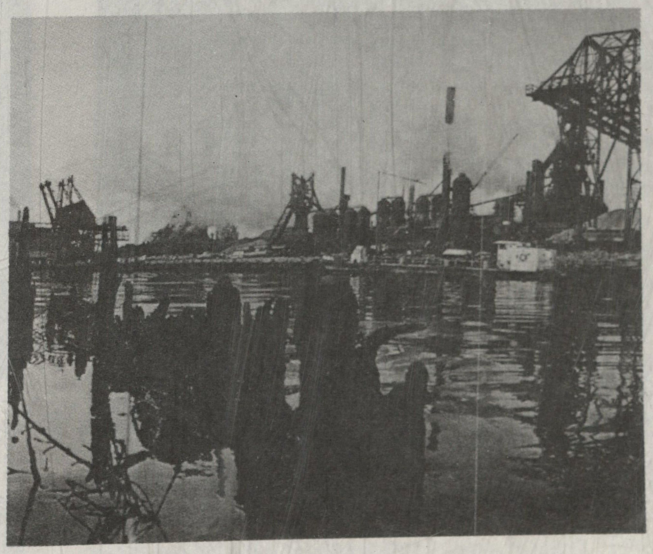
For now, the best preventive medicine, other than prompt removal of infected trees, is constant vigilance, spraying and pruning. New York City has 33,000 American elms, one of the largest municipal collections in the East. Fewer than 1% died last year, largely because the elms are doused each spring with a chemical that discourages beetles from nesting, and park rangers and volunteers conduct "elm watches" to spot the disease (early signs: wilting, curling and yellowing leaves; thinning of the tree's crown; brown streaks under the bark). An aroused citizenry helps keep the pressure on city hall; last month elm lovers in the Big Apple staged a protest saying not [illegible] trees.

In planning Disneyland, which [illegible] the problem in a novel way. He lined his ide[illegible] Main Street, U.S.A., through which all visitors must pass before getting to To[illegible] [illegible] Chinese elms. They are not quite look-alikes [illegible] grow in balmy Southern California. More im[illegible] Dutch elm disease. ■

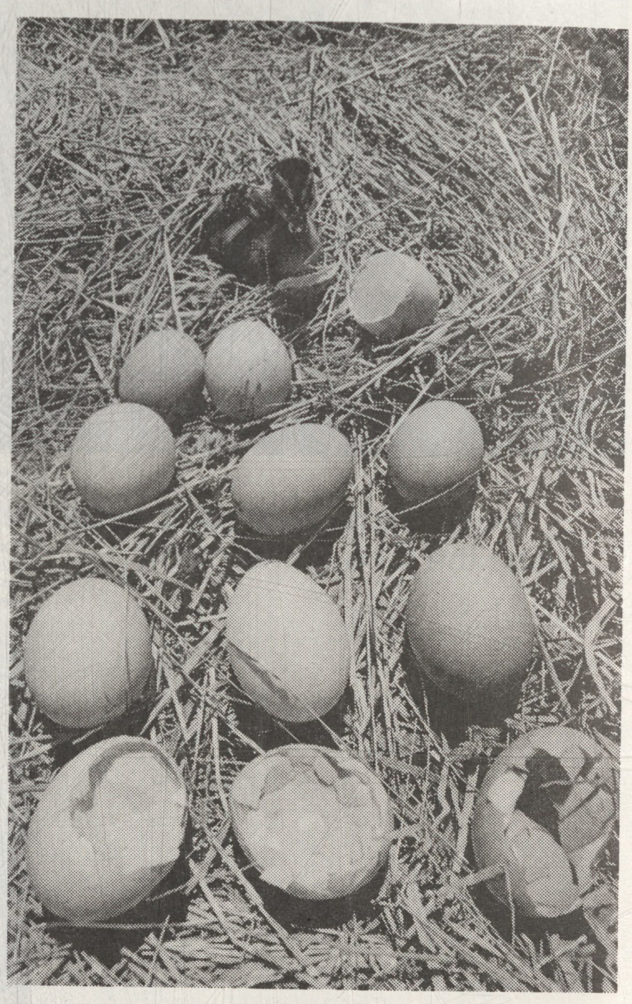
The prophecy said that strange animals would be born deformed and without the proper limbs. The weather would change, and man would see a winter without snow and a season without growth.



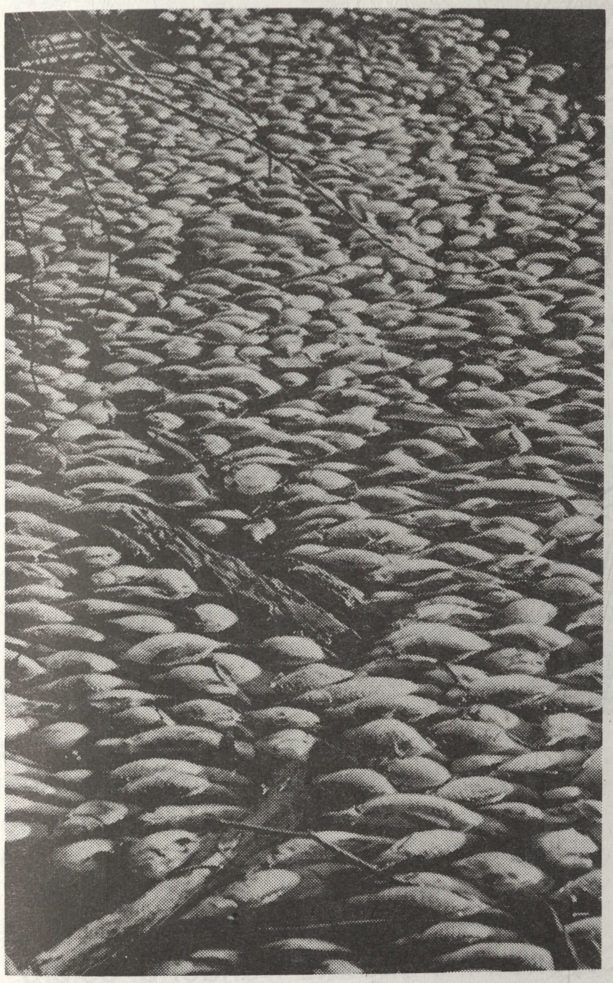
Huge stone monsters would tear open the face of the earth.



The rivers would burn.
The air would burn the eyes of man.



According to the prophecy of the Seventh Generation, the Onkwehonwe would see the time when the birds would fall from the sky.



The fish would die in the water.

And man would grow ashamed of the way that he had treated his mother and provider, the earth.

Finally, according to this prophecy, after seven generations of living in close contact with the Europeans, the Onkwehonwe would rise up and demand that their rights and stewardship over the earth be respected and restored.

According to the wisdom of this prophecy, men and women would one day turn to the Onkwehonwe, and particularly to the eastern door of the great Iroquois Confederacy, for both guidance and direction. It is up to the present generation of youth of the Kanienkehaka to provide leadership and example to all who have failed. The children of the Kanienkehaka are the seventh generation.

2. The Prophecy Of The Two Serpents

There is another prophecy that is particular to the Kanienkehaka. It is the prophecy of the Two Serpents.

The story is told that a long time ago, before the time that Europeans arrived in the Americas, two hunters went out over the Great Water to look for a new hunting territory. Game was scarce in Kanienkeh, and they hoped to find more food beyond the horizon in the east.

These two hunters set out in their canoe to search for a richer game. After they had gone out beyond the horizon's edge, they noticed a glowing in the distance. They quickened their paddling and came upon a very strange sight. There in the water were two small serpents one gold and one silver. These serpents were glowing and turned the sky into wonderful colors.

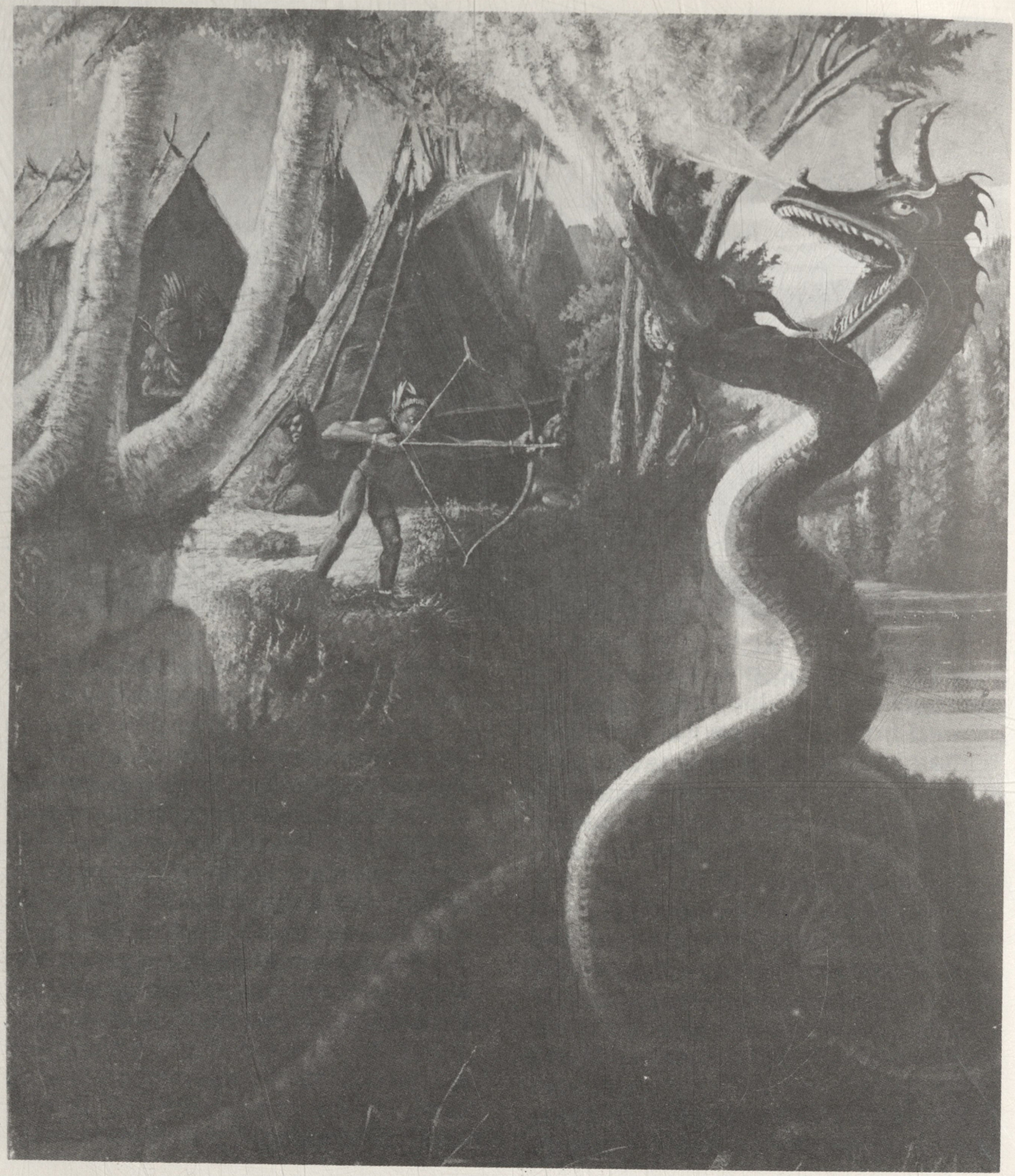
The two hunters were amazed at the beauty of the serpents. They did not want to leave them in the water for fear that they would drown or else be eaten by a large fish. They knew if they brought these serpents back to their own nation, the people would admire the serpents and call the two hunters men of great skill and daring. They paddled up close to the serpents and scooped them up into their canoe.

Before the two hunters returned to their village, the people could see them approaching from the great light that glowed from the serpents. When the hunters reached their homes with their prize, the people were impressed by the catch. Everybody crowded around the serpents to watch the beautiful light that they gave off.

The people kept the serpents in an extra canoe. They were fed daily, and soon began to eat twenty four hours a day. They grew too large for the canoe, and had to be moved to a stockade especially built for that purpose. At first the serpents were fed mosquitoes, flies and other insects. As they grew larger they ate small animals like rabbits, racoons and muskrats. Soon they grew so large that they needed to be fed deer and finally moose.

One day the serpents grew so large that they managed to escape from their stockade pen. They attacked the children and swallowed quite a few of them whole. The people were in terrible circumstances. They could see the children squirming around in the bellies of the huge gold and silver serpents.

They attacked these serpents with clubs, with arrows and with spears, but to no avail. The serpents continued to ravage through the village, killing more and more of the people and swallowing more children. Finally they left the village and headed for the woods.



The people fought amongst themselves as to what to do. They couldn't agree as to what was the best way to stop the serpents. They fought until it became too late and the serpents disappeared. The gold serpent went south, the silver one headed north.

These serpents left trails wherever they went. They cut through mountains and blocked up the rivers. They killed all of the animals wherever they went, not always stopping to eat the meat. When the serpents approached a mountain, instead of going around it or over the top, they burrowed through the middle. The serpents left trails of filth and destruction wherever they went. They poisoned the waters, killed the forests, and made the earth an ugly and barren place.

One day a hunter from the land of the Kanienkehaka happened to see the golden serpent. It had grown to be the size of a mountain, and it had turned around, and was heading for the Mohawk country once again. Similarly word came down from the north that the silver serpent had grown and it too was heading for the land of the Kanienkehaka. One day, the two serpents could be seen from the original village from whence they had come three hundred years earlier.

Again the people argued and argued. They could not agree as to the best way to kill the serpents off. The people remembered the legends of the serpents, and how they had eaten the children of their ancestors, and they fled to the mountains.

Once in the mountains the people were told by the Creator that the day would come when a small boy would show them the way to kill the two serpents. The boy would make a bow from willow. He would string the bow with a string made from the hair of the clanmothers. An arrow would be made of a straight sapling and tipped with the white flint of the Kanienkehaka. With this arrow and this bow, the people were told, the Kanienkehaka would protect themselves from the two serpents of the United States and Canada.

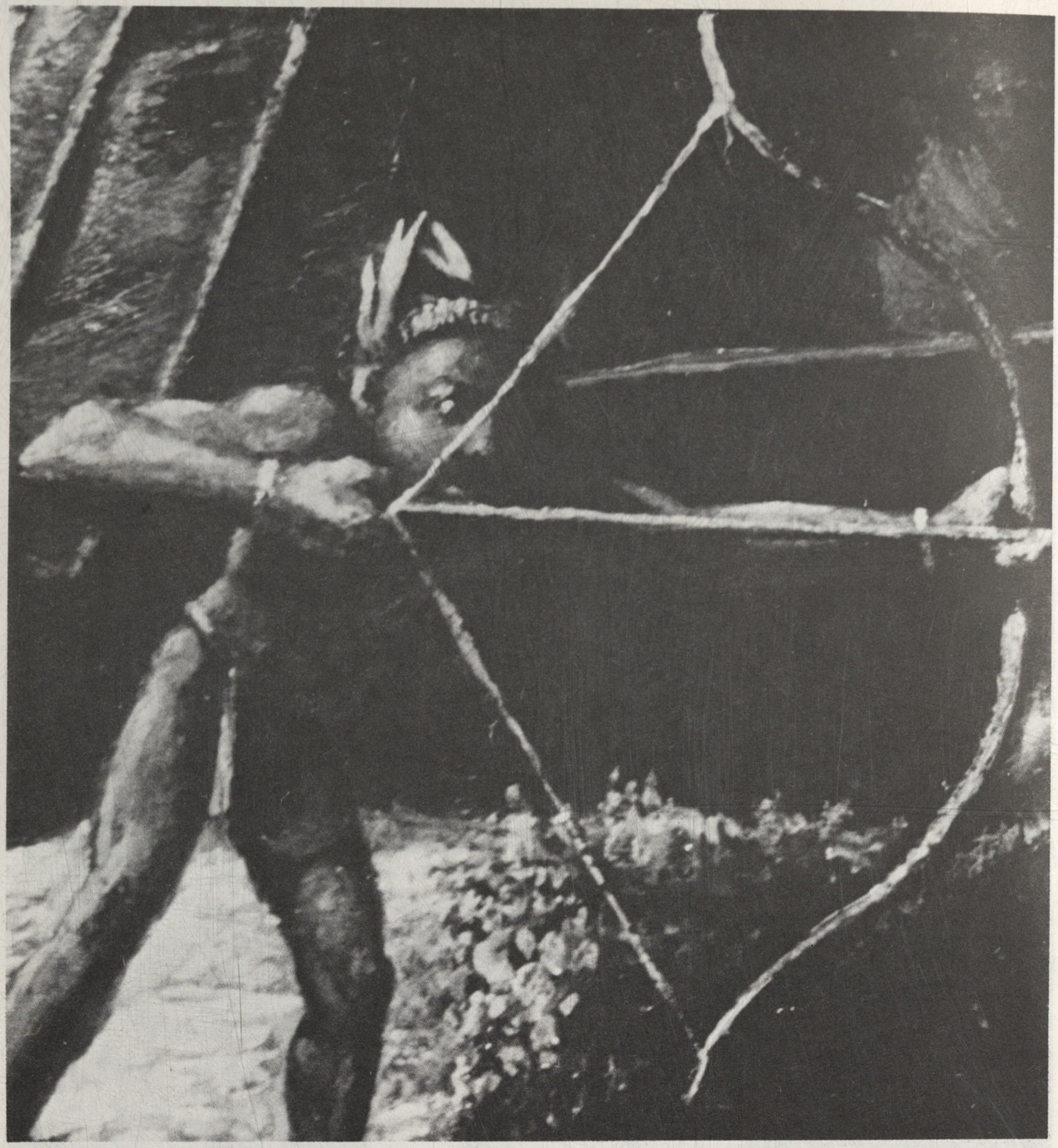
3. A Turbulent History

Mohawk history has been a turbulent history. The Kanienkehaka have had to defend their rights as a people from the very beginning of time. There have been times when the Kanienkehaka had not defended these rights hard enough, and rights were lost. On other occasions, when the people have fought for the recognition of their rights, these rights have been restored. The Kanienkehaka are caught between two great serpents, two great powers of the United States and Canada. The Kanienkehaka have been between two powers all of the life of the Mohawk

Nation. At first they were caught between the northern and the southern Algonquin, then between the English and the French, and now between the Americans and the Canadians. As if only to make matters worse, a growing number of French people in Quebec are demanding the separation of Quebec from Canada. Here again the Kanienkehaka are caught in the middle.

Survival is possible for the Kanienkehaka if they continue to fight for the rights that are theirs by virtue of birth and heritage. In the midst of this struggle, however, it would be wise to recall the words spoken by Tecaughretanego to young James Smith:

> Brother,
>
> As you have lived with the white people, you have not had the same advantage of knowing that the great being above feeds his people, and gives them their meat in due season, as we Indians have, who are frequently out of provisions, and yet are wonderfully supplied, and that so frequently that it is evident the hand of the great Owaneeyo that doth this: whereas the white people have commonly large stocks of tame cattle, that they can kill when they please, and also their barns and cribs filled with grain, and therefore have not the same opportunity of seeing, and knowing that they are supported by the ruler of Heaven and Earth.
>
> Brother,
>
> I know that you are now afraid that we will all perish with hunger, but you have no just reason to fear this.
>
> Brother,
>
> I have been young, but am now old – I have been frequently under the like circumstances that we now are, and that some time or other in almost every year of my life; yet, I have hitherto been supported, and my wants supplied in time of need.
>
> Brother,
>
> Owaneeyo sometimes suffers us to be in want, in order to teach us our dependance upon him, and to let us know that we are to love and serve him: and likewise to know the worth of the favors that we receive, and to make us more thankful.
>
> Brother,
>
> Be assured that you will be supplied with food, and that just in the right time; but you must continue diligent in the use of means – go to sleep, and rise early in the morning and go hunting – be strong and exert youself like a man, and the great spirit will direct your way.[1]



AFTERWORD

The Year 1946:

A Speech In The Canadian House Of Commons By The Honorable Mr. Dupuis, Member Of Parliament.

Now, dealing with the land of Indian bands. I have in mind the Caughnawaga land near Montreal, a property which embraces about 300,000 acres of land all of which is good farm land. The Indians on that reserve are not farmers at all but white people could take land, divide it up into farms and cultivate it. I know that this question has been brought up before the Department of Indian Affairs many times with the idea of dispossessing the Indians of the Caughnawaga Reserve of this valuable agricultural land, which, as I say, is very close to Montreal, just on the other side of the river. I wonder if there would be any possibility of this committee, or the proper authority, saying when the land will be available for those who want to use it for farms.

APPENDIX

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

OF AN

INDIAN INTERPRETER AND TRADER,

DESCRIBING

The Manners and Customs

OF THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS;

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE POSTS

SITUATED ON

THE RIVER SAINT LAURENCE, LAKE ONTARIO, &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A VOCABULARY

OF

The Chippeway Language.

Names of Furs and Skins, in English and French.

A LIST OF WORDS

IN THE

IROQUOIS, MOHEGAN, SHAWANEE, AND ESQUIMEAUX TONGUES,

AND A TABLE, SHEWING

The Analogy between the Algonkin and Chippeway Languages.

BY J. LONG.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR; AND SOLD BY ROBSON, BOND-STREET; DEBRETT, PICCADILLY; T. AND J. EGERTON, CHARING-CROSS; WHITE AND SON, FLEET-STREET; SEWELL, CORNHILL; EDWARDS, PALL-MALL; AND MESSRS. TAYLORS, HOLBORN, LONDON; FLETCHER, OXFORD; AND BULL, BATH.

M,DCC,XCI.

A Description of the Village and Inhabitants of CAHNUAGA, *or* COCKNAWAGA, *who some years since separated from the* MOHAWKS.

THE Savages of this nation, who are called the praying Indians, from the circumstance of their chiefs wearing crucifixes, and going through the streets of Montreal with their beads, begging alms, separated long since from the Mohawk and River Indians, and for a considerable time after their separation, carried on an illicit trade between Albany and Montreal. The village contains about two hundred houses, which, though they are chiefly built of stone, have a mean and dirty appearance. The inhabitants amount to about eight hundred, and (what is contrary to the general observation on the population of the Indians) are continually increasing. It is considered as the most respectable of all the Indian villages, and the people are in a great degree civilized and industrious. They sow corn, and do not depend like other nations solely upon hunting for support; but at the same time, they are not fond of laborious work, conceiving it only suited to those who are less free, and retaining so much of their primeval valour and independence as to annex the idea of slavery to every domestic employment. Their hunting grounds are within the United States, at a considerable distance from the village, round Fort George, Ticonderago, and Crown Point, where they kill beaver and deer, but not in such great abundance at present as they did formerly, the country being better inhabited, and the wild animals, from the present state of population, being obliged to seek a more dis-

tant and secure retreat. The skins they obtain are generally brought down to Montreal, and either sold for money, or bartered for goods. It is not improbable, that in a few years there will not be many good hunters among them, as they are extravagantly fond of dress, and that too of the most expensive kind. Their fondness for this luxury, which the profits arising from the lands they let out to the Canadians enables them to indulge, contributes to make them more idle; and in proportion as their vanity increases, ease and indolence are the more eagerly courted and gratified, insomuch that hunting is in danger of being totally abandoned. Their religion is Catholic, and they have a French priest, or, as the Chippeway Indians term it, "*The Master of Life's Man*," who instructs them, and performs divine service in the Iroquois tongue. Their devotion impressed my mind too powerfully to suffer it to pass unnoticed, and induces me to observe that great praise is due to their pastors, who by unwearied assiduity, and their own exemplary lives and conversation, have converted a savage race of beings from Heathenism to Christianity, and by uniformity of conduct, continue to preserve both their religion and themselves in the esteem of their converts: An example worthy of imitation, and amounting to an incontrovertible proof that nature, in her most degenerate state, may be reclaimed by those who are sincere in their endeavours, gentle in their manners, and consistent in the general tenor of their behaviour. And it is to be expected, and certainly most ardently to be wished, that the savage temper among them may in time be more effectually subdued, their natural impetuosity softened and restrained, and their minds weaned from their unhappy attachment to the use of strong liquors; their indulgence in which is frequently attended with the most melancholy and fatal consequences.

Of the Indians *of the Five and Six Nations.*

I shall now give a particular account of the Indians of the Five and Six Nations, and the reasons why they are so called, in order to enable the reader to form an idea of their consequence in a political point of view, as well as their importance on account of the fur trade; because the vicinity of the American territories from Georgia to New England, gives the United States a great command and influence from their situation, and renders them more to be dreaded than even the French were in the zenith of their American power, when it was universally known they had such an interest among the savages, as induced them to call the French their fathers, and of which so much yet remains, as to prompt them to retain a predilection in favour of the traders of the Gallic race who are settled among them.

In 1603, when the French settled in Canada, part of the Five Nations resided on the island of Montreal, and were at war with the Adirondacks (who lived on the Uttawa, or grand river leading to Michillimakinac); these, considered the Five Nations as very insignificant opponents, and incapable of serious revenge, and they were held in as much derision as the Delawares, who were usually called old women, or the Shawanees (who lived on the Wabach River), who were obliged to wear petticoats for a considerable time, in contempt of their want of courage, and as a badge of their pusillanimity and degradation. But as no people can bear the imputation of cowardice or effeminacy as a

national character, the chiefs determined to rouse their young men, and stimulate them to retrieve, or establish, a reputation; and inspiring them with heroic notions, led them to war against the Satanas, or Shaounons, whom they subdued with great ease. This success revived their drooping spirits, and forgetting how often they had been defeated by the Adirondacks, commenced hostilities against them; and availing themselves of the mean opinion their enemies entertained of their valour, gained the victory in several actions: and at last carried on a successful war against them even in their own country, obliging their former conquerors to abandon their native land, and seek refuge on the spot where Quebec is now situated.

Soon after the French arrived and had settled at Quebec, they formed an alliance with the Adirondacks against the Five Nations. The first engagement proved decisive in favour of the Adirondacks, owing entirely to the use of fire arms having been introduced among them by their new allies, which the Indians of the Five Nations had never before seen. This alliance, and the consequent defeat was far from subduing or disheartening the Five Nations, but rather seemed to inspire them with additional ardour, and what they were deficient in military skill and suitable weapons, they supplied by stratagem and courage. Although the French gained several advantages over them in the course of more than fifteen years, they at length were glad to bring the contest to a conclusion, by making a peace with them.

This shews that the Savages of the Five Nations are not easily to be conquered, and proves the necessity of preserving them in our in-

terest, as long as we shall deem it expedient, from policy, to keep possession of Canada. This being admitted, it is certain that no method will more effectually conduce to that end, than retaining such barriers in our hands as will enable us to afford them protection, and supply them with arms and ammunition, and other necessaries, in time of danger.

The Indians who lie to the north of Philadelphia, between the provinces of Pennsylvania and the Lakes, consist of three distinct leagues, of which the Senekas, Mohawks, and Onondagoes, who are called the fathers, compose the first; the Oneidoes, Cayugas, Tuscororas, Conoys and Nanticokes, which are one tribe, compose the second, and these two leagues constitute what is called the Six Nations. The third league is formed of the Wanamis, Chihokockis, or Delawares, the Mawhiccons, Munseys, and Wapingers, to which may be added the Mingoes. The Cowetas, or Creek Indians, are also united in friendship with them.

Mr. Colden says, the nations who are joined together by a league or confederacy, like the United Provinces of Holland, are known by the names of Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, and Senekas; that each of these nations is again divided into three tribes or families, who are distinguished by the names of the Tortoise, Bear, and Wolf; and that the Tuscororas, after the war they had with the people of Carolina, fled to the Five Nations, and incorporated with them, so that in fact they now consist of six, although they still retain the name of the Five Nations. This union is of such long duration as to leave little or no traces of its origin.

Baron Lahontan observes, that the Iroquois are in reality but one nation, divided into five districts; and which he distinguishes in the following manner:— The Tsonontouans, the Goyogans, the Onontagues, the Oneyouts, and the Agnies, who were all settled about thirty leagues from each other, near the great Lake Frontenac, now called Ontario.

The Mohawks, or Maquas, are the most warlike among the Five Nations, and consist of near seven hundred warriors. They are called by the French, Agnies, or Annies, and were originally settled on the French or grand River, leading to Michillimakinac, from whence they afterwards removed to the Mohawk River, near Schenectady, about sixteen miles from Albany, in the state of New York. Since the war in 1757 they have separated, and part of the nation is settled on the grand river, near Niagara, and the rest at the back of the bay of Quenty, or Kenty, about forty-eight miles above Cataraqui, the capital of the Loyalist settlements on the River St. Laurence.

Cataraqui, or Fort Frontenac, is built near to the place where Lake Ontario discharges itself into the River St. Laurence. It was erected by Le Comte de Frontenac, governor general of Canada, to stop the incursions of the Iroquois, and divert the channel of the commerce in peltry, which that people carried on with the inhabitants of New York, and which they bartered for with the Savages by merchandize, at a cheaper rate than the French could supply them.

This fort was at first built of wood and turf, and surrounded with high pickets, but during the mission of Father Hennepin, it was faced

with stone, by the direction of the Sieur Cavelier de la Salle, and enlarged to a circuit of more than seven hundred yards. The bason in which it stands is capable of holding a number of vessels of considerable burthen. There is a small garrison at present, and a commanding officer, to examine all boats which pass either to the new settlements or the upper posts.

The Oneidoes, or Oneyouts, the Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senekas, or Tsonontouans, and the Tuscororas, who live with the Oneidoes and Onondagoes, are settled about thirty leagues distant from each other, and none of them exceeding two hundred and fifty miles from the Mohawk River. All these nations express peace by the metaphor of a tree, whose top they say will reach the sun, and whose branches extend far abroad, not only that they may be seen at a great distance, but to afford them shelter and repose.

The Five Nations claim all the country south of the River St. Laurence to the Ohio, and down the Ohio to the Wabache, which lies to the westward of the state of Pennsylvania, near to the borders of Virginia; westerly, to the Lakes Ontario and Erie, and the River Miamis, and the eastern boundaries of Lake Champlain, and the United States.

The firmness of this league, the great extent of land it claims, the number of great warriors it produces, and the undaunted courage and skill which distinguish the members of it in their contests both with the Savages and European nations, all conspire to prove the good policy of an alliance with them; as it is an undoubted fact, that in case of a dispute with the Americans, the posts would make but a feeble resist-

ance without their exertions; and deprived of the forts, the fur trade would soon be lost to this country.

I shall next consider the situation and utility of these barriers, in a commercial point of view, and endeavour to shew the propriety of keeping possession of the posts, notwithstanding by the treaty of peace with the United States, they were expressly stipulated to be given up; although it is not probable indeed that the Americans will be able to fulfil the treaty on their part, so as to entitle them to make a reasonable demand—I mean such a claim as government must absolutely admit.

The first post I shall notice is Oswegatche, on the River St. Laurence, about one hundred and fifty miles above Montreal, at the mouth of the Black River, where there are about an hundred Savages, who occasionally frequent it, and are called Oswegatche Indians, although they belong to the tribes of the Five Nations. To this fort the inhabitants of New England may with ease transport goods, to supply the Mohawks, Cahnuagas, Connecedagas, St. Regis, and some straggling Messesawger Indians, who live near the Détroit, at a smaller expence than they can possibly be obtained from the merchants at Quebec or Montreal, but particularly Rum, which is now become an essential requisite in every transaction with the Savages; for though they used formerly often to complain of the introduction of strong water by the traders (as appears by the language of their chiefs in council) to the prejudice of their young men, yet they have not now the resolution to refrain from the use of it;—on the contrary, it is become so familiar, and even necessary to them, that a drunken frolic is

looked upon as an indispensible requisite in a barter, and anticipated with extreme delight.

Carlton Island is higher up the river, and has greater conveniences annexed to it than Oswegatche, having an excellent harbour, with a strong fortification well garrisoned. It affords excellent accommodation for shipping, and may be considered as the naval storehouse for supplying Niagara and the other posts. There are vessels of considerable bulk continually sailing from thence to Niagara, Oswego, &c.—There is also a commodore of the Lakes, whose residence is on the island.

Fort Oswego, on Lake Ontario, formerly called Lake Frontenac, is a good fortification, and capable of containing six hundred men. This post is particularly important, as it is the key to the United States, and commands the opening to the North, or Hudson's River, protecting the trade with the Indians who live on the banks of the River St. Laurence, and the whole extent of the great sheet of water near which it stands, reckoned about eighty leagues in length, and in some places from twenty-five to thirty broad.

When the English were in possession of the Colonies, Albany commanded the trade with the Indians; and it is well known that no place in America furnished such a quantity of furs and skins, not even the Hudson's Bay settlements, whose utmost extent of trade is far inferior to the produce collected here. These furs and skins were procured from Canada, and brought to Fort Oswego by the Indians, who disposed of them to the agents sent there by the merchants of Albany.

Besides, Indian goods may be conveyed from Albany to Fort Oswego at a cheaper rate than from Montreal to the new settlements at Cataraqui and the head of the Bay of Kenty, and at less risk, because the stream of the Mohawk River is not so strong as that of the Cataraqui River, between the Lake and Montreal, and there are not so many falls of water.

Fort Niagara is on the same lake, where there is also a good garrison. This lake takes its rise from Lake Erie, and after a course of fifteen leagues, empties itself into Lake Ontario. About four leagues before it enters the lake, it is intercepted by the great fall which is mentioned by various authors, who do not agree in opinion respecting its height; but from the most authentic accounts, joined to my own observations, I am inclined to coincide with the judgment of captain Pierie, who made an actual survey, and describes the height to be one hundred and forty-six feet, and the width one thousand and forty, which proves that the accounts of Father Hennepin and La Salle were erroneous, who both agree in calling the perpendicular height six hundred feet. The distance from Fort Niagara to Fort Stanwix is about two hundred and eighty miles, through the Jenesee country, which I travelled with great ease in about eight days. This post therefore is of the most essential importance to protect the Indians who are in alliance with Great Britain, and to secure the valuable and undivided advantage of their trade.

The Détroit is so called from being a strait between Lake Erie, and Lake Huron, and commands the trade from the Ohio, Illinois, Mississippi, and the Upper Lakes, which post is resorted to by the Uttawas,

Hurons, Miamis, Ohio, Mississippi, Delaware, and Tuscorora Indians, besides the Messesawgas.

These five posts are situated at the back of the three states of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, and at a very small distance from the Loyalist settlements.

The last post is Michillimakinac, which is situated between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, upon an isthmus, about one hundred and thirty leagues long, and twenty-two wide, and is the last fortress towards the north-west. This point of land is on the north of the straits through which the Lake of the Hinois, or Michigan, three hundred leagues in circumference, empties itself into Lake Huron, which is of equal extent. The strait is about three leagues long, and one broad, and half a league distant from the mouth of the Hinois.

This is perhaps the most material of all the barriers, and of the greatest importance to the commercial interest of this country, as it intercepts all the trade of the Indians of the upper country from Hudson's Bay to Lake Superior, and affords protection to various tribes of Savages, who constantly resort to it to receive presents from the commanding officer, and from whence the traders, who go to the north-west, take their departure for the grand portage, or grand carrying place, which is nine miles in length, before they enter on the waters communicating with the north-west.

Were the English to remain in possession of every part of Canada, except the posts, numberless doors would be left open for the Ameri-

cans to smuggle in their goods, and in process of time the illicit trade would supersede the necessity of the exportation of British goods from England to Canada, and the commercial benefits arising from the consumption of our manufactures would be entirely lost.—In that case, Canada would be of little service to England in a commercial point of view: How far it is worth the expence of retaining, politically considered, is not for me to discuss.

Indian Scouts, and Manner of Scalping.

HAVING endeavoured to explain the nature and importance of the Five and Six Nation Indians, and described the situation of the posts, and the probable consequences of complying with the treaty, I shall return to my situation at Montreal.

Having stayed with my employer seven years, and not being willing to enter into a new agreement, I determined to pursue the bent of my inclinations; and being naturally of a roving disposition, which was increased by my frequent associations with the Savages, I entered a volunteer at the head of a party of Indians, thinking that my country might at some future period derive advantage from my more intimate knowledge of the country and its language.

My *entrée* was in 1775, when a party of about thirty of the Americans, commanded by the famous Ethan Allen, appeared at Long Point, about two miles from Montreal, intending to plunder the town; they were however disappointed in their expectations by the good conduct of captain Crawford of the twenty-sixth regiment, who with about forty regulars and some volunteers sallied out and made the enemy retreat to a barn, where an engagement took place, in which major Carden, Mr. Paterson, a volunteer, and three privates were killed, and I was wounded in the foot; but on the arrival of a field piece, the enemy surrendered.

Being beloved by the Indians, and preferring active service with them to any other mode of life, I accompanied lieutenant Peter Johnson and lieutenant Walter Butler, with a few Mohawks, to attack the Americans at Isle au Noix, whom we defeated, taking a great many prisoners. During the engagement we lost two volunteers and three privates. In this action I received a wound in the head from the butt-end of a musket.

I then joined the eighth regiment of foot, commanded by captain Foster, to attack the Americans at the Cedars, whom we also defeated. The prisoners were left at Fort St. Vielle, or Prison Island, at the foot of the Falls, under a proper guard; and the remains of our small army, consisting of about one hundred and fifty men, went down to La Chine to engage another body of Americans; but finding them too strongly entrenched, we retreated to Point Clair, where we stayed till we received intelligence that general Arnold, with four thousand men were at Isle au Noix, and that major Gordon was killed in his way to St. John's, about two miles from the fort. On this occasion it may not be amiss to observe, that the custom adopted by the Americans, and with so much success, of levelling their pieces at the officers, originated with the Indians, who are possessed with an idea that the men will naturally be thrown into confusion when their leaders are dead. This however is not without exceptions: the Mattaugwessawacks, whose country lies westward of Lake Superior, hold the persons of officers sacred; and Josepsis, one of their tribe, who was taken prisoner, and sold to the Penobscot Indians, says that the Savages they were at war with have adopted the same method.

I was immediately ordered on a scout, at the head of ten Connecedaga or Rondaxe Indians, with captain La Motte, a Canadian gentleman, in search of the person who had killed major Gordon, and to reconnoitre the woods, in hopes of gaining information of the real force of the Americans at Isle au Noix. To avoid suspicion, we were all dressed like Savages; and as captain La Motte and myself were well acquainted with the Iroquois language, it was impossible to distinguish us from the natives. We were out six days and nights, with very little provision, living chiefly on the scrapings of the inner bark of trees and wild roots, particularly onions, which grow in great abundance, and are not disagreeable to the palate. Hunger reconciles us to every thing that will support nature, and makes the most indifferent food acceptable. From my own woful experience I can assert, that what at any other time would have been unpleasant and even nauseous, under the pressure of hunger is not only greedily eaten, but relished as a luxury. Those who are acquainted with the nature of roving in the woods in time of war, know the necessity of travelling light, and particularly on an Indian scout, as the Savages seldom take any thing but a small quantity of Indian corn and Maple sugar, which, after beating the corn between two stones, they mix with water, and on this they subsist. During this expedition, as the business was urgent, and the enemy near at hand, we depended on adventitious food.

On the last day's march, returning without being able to obtain any intelligence, one of the Indians heard a noise resembling the breaking of a stick; the chief of the band sent out a scout, who soon returned with a prisoner. The man appeared much frightened, imagining himself in the hands of Savages only. Having bound him to a tree, I

being the only one of the party who understood English, questioned him very closely respecting the situation and force of the enemy, and interpreted the conversation. When he heard me talk his own language he was agreeably surprised, and his fears in some degree giving way to hope, he begged me to save him from the fury of the Indians, whose general conduct in war had filled his mind with the most dreadful apprehensions. I assured him, that if he would faithfully satisfy all my inquiries, his life should be spared. He cheerfully complied with the requisition, and directed me to a place from whence we might have a clear view of the Americans, who were encamped on the opposite shore.

Having left him bound, we proceeded about two miles through swamps, till we came in sight of the enemy. The Indians immediately panted for action, but captain La Motte thought it prudent to restrain their ardour, and ordered them to retreat into the woods, still keeping our object in view. Soon after, a boat full of men crossed the river, and landed without perceiving us. The Indians instantly kindled a fire, and each man filled his blanket with rotten wood and leaves, till it was extended to the size of a man; then placing them near the fire, to appear like Indians asleep, they retired to a small distance, to give the Americans an opportunity of coming up unmolested, not doubting but they would immediately fire at the blankets. The manœuvre succeeded to our expectation; for the Americans discovering the smoke advanced towards the fire, and perceiving the blankets, discharged their muskets. The Savages immediately rushed from their ambush, and setting up the war-hoop, fell upon the enemy, scalped seven of them, and took five prisoners, whom we painted like ourselves. We then returned, released the prisoner from the tree, and conducted them all to St. John's,

where they were examined by colonel England, who ordered me to take them to Sir Guy Carleton without delay.

Having executed this commission to the satisfaction of the commander in chief, I remained some time with my old friends, till I received a message from Sir Guy Carleton to attend him; when he ordered me to join brigadier general Nesbit, with the twenty-ninth and forty-seventh regiments; in the latter of which I served as a volunteer a considerable time; but finding no vacancy, and having no allowance for my services, to enable me to live and appear as I wished, I quitted the regiment to enjoy my favourite Indian life; and as I knew their manner of living, and could accommodate myself to their diet, I thought I might probably continue serviceable to my country in scouting parties, and accordingly accompanied a party of Savages to the Lake of the two Mountains, fifteen leagues above Montreal, a village belonging to the Connecedagas, carrying a scalp as a trophy of my services.

Scalping is a mode of torture peculiar to the Indians. If a blow is given with the tomahawk previous to the scalp being taken off, it is followed by instant death; but where scalping only is inflicted, it puts the person to excruciating pain, though death does not always ensue. There are instances of persons of both sexes, now living in America, and no doubt in other countries, who, after having been scalped, by wearing a plate of silver or tin on the crown of the head, to keep it from cold, enjoy a good state of health, and are seldom afflicted with pains.

When an Indian strikes a person on the temple with a tomahawk, the victim instantly drops; he then seizes his hair with one hand,

twisting it very tight together, to separate the skin from the head, and placing his knee on the breast, with the other he draws the scalping knife from the sheath, and cuts the skin round the forehead, pulling it off with his teeth. As he is very dexterous, the operation is generally performed in two minutes. The scalp is then extended on three hoops, dried in the sun, and rubbed over with vermilion. Some of the Indians in time of war, when scalps are well paid for, divide one into five or six parts, and carry them to the nearest post, in hopes of receiving a reward proportionate to the number.

When the scalp is taken from the head of one of their own people, they frequently make the dead body of advantage to them, by dressing it up and painting it with vermilion; they then place it against a tree, with weapons in its hand, to induce the Indians to suppose it an enemy on the watch; and round the body they set spears in the ground, so as scarcely to be discernible. The Indians, on seeing the person against the tree, and anxious to make him a prisoner, in the eagerness of running fall on the points of the spears, and being disabled from proceeding, are easily made prisoners.

Before I close this subject I shall relate an anecdote of two Savages of different nations, in the time of Sir William Johnson.

A Mohawk, of the name of Scunnionsa, or the elk, and a Chippeway Indian of the name of Cark Cark, or the crow, having met at a council of war near Crown Point, in the year 1757, were extolling their own merits, and boasting of their superiority in taking scalps. The Mohawk contended that he could take a larger scalp than the Chippeway war-

rior; who was very highly offended, and desired that the experiment might be made. They parted, each pursuing a different route, after having first agreed to meet at a certain place, on a particular day, when a council was to be held. At the time appointed they returned, and appeared at the council. The Mohawk laid down his scalp, which was the skin of the head and neck of a man stuffed with fine moss, and sewed up with deers' sinews, and the eyes fastened in. The chiefs expressed their approbation, and pronounced him to be a great and brave warrior. The Chippeway then rose, and looking earnestly at the Mohawk, desired the interpreter to tell him that it was an old woman's scalp, which is considered as a term of great reproach, and called to one of his sons to bring forward his scalp; when instantly he exhibited to their view the complete skin of a man, stuffed with down feathers, and sewed very close with deers' sinews. The chiefs loaded him with praise, and unanimously acknowledged his superiority. The Mohawk warrior, fired with resentment, withdrew from the council meditating revenge; and as soon as he saw the Chippeway come forth, he followed him, and watching a convenient opportunity, dispatched him with his tomahawk, rejoicing that he had, even in this dastardly manner, got rid of a victorious rival.

Some Account of the Character and Disposition of the CONNECEDAGA, *or* RONDAXE INDIANS; *with Remarks on the* IROQUOIS *and* CHEROKEE *Nations.*

THE Savages of this nation are of the Chippeway tribe, and speak a mixture of the Iroquois and Chippeway tongues: they were driven from the upper country at the time of the great Indian war, about the year 1720, and settled on the Lake of the two Mountains. There are about two hundred inhabitants, who are very industrious, and cultivate the land in the manner of the Cahnuagas; they also breed cattle, and live in a degree of civilization unknown to most of the Chippeway tribes. There is also a town near Lake Erie, in the limits of the United States, which is inhabited by about fifteen hundred of this nation, of whom the Reverend Mr. Charles Beattie gives a very favourable account.

Since the settlement of the Connecedagas they have intermarried with the Cahnuaga, St. Regis, and Mohawk Indians, which is the reason why their language is less pure, though some of them speak the original tongue, which in my frequent communications with the Chippeways beyond Michillimakinac, I found in every respect perfectly understood. It was among these Indians that I first acquired the rudiments of a language which, from long habit, is become more familiar to me than my own; and I hope I shall not be accused of vanity, in asserting that the vocabulary and familiar phrases, subjoined to this

work, are more copious than will be found in any former publication. In spelling them I have been particularly careful in using such letters and accents as best express the Indian words, according to our pronunciation. To lay down general rules for the orthography of a language which has never been reduced to a system, I do not pretend: my endeavours may perhaps assist those who are better informed in the principles of universal grammar.

The Connecedagas are esteemed brave warriors; and my opinion, founded on long experience of their conduct and bravery, coincides with that which the English, from report only, entertain of them. No nation of Savages were ever more true to the British interest, not even the Mohawks, whose fidelity is become almost proverbial. During the continuance of the American war, they neglected their families and domestic concerns to fight for the English, which the Cahnuagas (though descendants of the Mohawks and Munseys, or Mawhiccon Indians, commonly called River Indians) did not with so much cheerfulness; perhaps the relationship of the latter to the Delawares before their defection, whom the Indians by way of derision used to call old women, might occasion this temporary reluctance; but if that was the cause, it was but of very short duration; for to do them justice, when they took up the tomahawk they behaved with great intrepidity, and proved that the blood of the ancient Mohawks still ran in their veins. Some have, though I think without much candour, imputed their services to the fear of our government, and the resentment of the Savages in our interest on the one hand, and the hopes of considerable rewards on the other; but as such reflections may be far from the truth, it cannot answer any purpose to comment severely on their con-

duct: it is sufficient to know they were our allies, and in all probability will continue friendly to the British nation. Great praise is due on this account to major Carlton, a brave and experienced officer, whom they loved with a Roman friendship; they flew to his standard with alacrity, obeyed him with cheerfulness, and never deserted him: no instance of friendship or attachment, either ancient or modern, could surpass it.

It requires good natural sense, and a thorough knowledge of the dispositions of the Indians, to persuade them to place unlimited confidence in their European or American leaders; to which must always be added, a seeming approbation of their advice, and an endeavour to conform to their wishes, never obstinately pursuing a design either offensive or defensive, contrary to their opinion. How fatal a different line of conduct may prove, the destruction of general Braddock is a melancholy instance: by his haughty demeanour, and strict adherence to his own plan, in direct opposition to the counsel of experienced chiefs, he lost their friendship, and died unlamented, confirming them in an opinion they had before often hinted, " that he wanted both skill " and prudence in war." Even the great Washington incurred their censure by his conduct, and gave occasion to an Indian chief, of the name of Thanachrishon, of the Seneka tribes, judging him by their own rules, to say, " that he was a good natured man, but had no ex- "perience."

An impartial mind will require but little to be persuaded that the Indians are superior to us in the woods: it is their natural element (if I may be allowed the expression), and a tree or river, of which their

recollection never fails, guide them to the secret recesses of a deep wood, either for safety, or the purpose of ambush. As they pay little attention to the rising or setting sun, it at first surprised me, by what method they travel from place to place, without any material aberration; but this they soon explained, by assuring me, that they had not the least difficulty in going from one spot to another, being governed by the moss on the trees, which always remains on the north side, but on the south it wastes and decays: they remark also, that the branches are larger, and the leaves more luxuriant on the south than on the north side of the tree. The most enlightened part of mankind, I am persuaded, cannot be more exact in their mode of judging, nor more attentive to the works of nature.

To prove further, if there are any who doubt it, that the Indians possess strong natural abilities, and are even capable of receiving improvement from the pursuits of learning, I shall relate a story from Kalm's Travels.

" An old American Savage being at an inn at New York, met with a gentleman who gave him some liquor, and being rather lively, boasted he could read and write English. The gentleman, willing to indulge him in displaying his knowledge, begged leave to propose a question, to which the old man consented. He was then asked, who was the first circumcised? the Indian immediately replied, father Abraham:—and directly asked the gentleman, who was the first quaker? He said it was very uncertain, that people differed in their sentiments exceedingly. The Indian perceiving the gentleman unable to resolve the question, put his fingers into his mouth, to express his surprize, and looking

stedfastly, told him, that Mordecai was the first quaker, for he would not pull off his hat to Haman."

Mr. Adair says, the Cherokees are very apt at giving people nicknames. A dull stalking fellow, they call a turkey buzzard; an ill tempered man, a wasp; a talkative person, a grasshopper; a hoarse voice, they say resembles a bull; and an interpreter whose manners and conversation are obscene, they call a smock interpreter.

The disposition of the Indians is naturally proud and self-sufficient: they think themselves the wisest of the sons of men, and are extremely offended when their advice is rejected. The feats of valour of their ancestors, continually repeated and impressed upon their minds, inspire them with the most exalted notions of their own prowess and bravery; hence arises the firmest reliance on their own courage and power; and though but a handful of men, comparatively speaking, they are vain enough to think they can overthrow both French and English whenever they please. They say, the latter are fools, for they hold their guns half man high, and let them snap; but that they themselves take sight, and seldom fail of doing execution, which, they add, is the true intention of going to war.

These exalted notions of self-consequence are more peculiar to the Five Nations, for which they are more eminently distinguished than other tribes of Savages, although none of them are deficient in this respect. Such sentiments as these have made the Iroquois dreaded and revered by others, for their superior understanding and valour, and likewise has a tendency to increase their fame. Although they

decrease in numbers daily, the thirst of glory will never be extinguished among them, whilst there is a breast to nourish it: they will never shrink from danger when honour is at stake.

The Iroquois laugh when you talk to them of obedience to kings; for they cannot reconcile the idea of submission with the dignity of man. Each individual is a sovereign in his own mind; and as he conceives he derives his freedom from the great Spirit alone, he cannot be induced to acknowledge any other power.

They are extremely jealous, and easily offended, and when they have been once induced to suspect, it is very difficult to remove the impression. They carry their resentments with them to the grave, and bequeath them to the rising generation.

Those who have associated with them, though they may admire their heroism in war, their resolution in supporting the most excruciating tortures, and the stability of their friendships, cannot but lament the dreadful effects of their displeasure, which has no bounds. It is this violence of temper, which is generally in the extreme, that makes them so difficult to subdue, and so dangerous to encourage; too much indulgence they attribute to fear, and too much severity brings on resentment.

To remove these strong prejudices (which, however prone human nature may be to encourage them, would never prove so prejudicial to society, unless continually promoted by the advice and example of the aged), has been the constant endeavour of those nations who have been

in alliance with them, and some attempts have been made to soften their manners by the introduction of the Christian religion, whose precepts are so wonderfully calculated to destroy every blood-thirsty sentiment, and make mankind happier in themselves, and better members of the community. In this laudable pursuit our neighbours the French have been most successful, at least so far as an alteration in external behaviour may be considered as an indication of the amendment of the heart. The good conduct of the inhabitants of several Indian villages in Canada bears testimony to this observation. Nevertheless, in contradiction to this remark, Mr. James Adair observes, that the French Canadians are highly censurable for debauching our peaceble Northern Indians with their " infernal catechism."

Though I am not an advocate for creeds inimical to the peace of society, I believe the censure is too severe, for however formerly they might have been influenced by bigotted priests instilling into their minds sentiments unfavourable to the subjects of Great Britain, I am clearly of opinion, that they have for many years used their best endeavours to inculcate the principles of the Gospel: indeed, it is always to be lamented when either politics or religion are made subservient to each other: this being properly considered, perhaps the French are not more blameable than other nations. We are too apt to involve others in our disputes, and religion is too frequently introduced by bigots to assist the cause they wish to support.

With regard to those Indians who have been accustomed to the society of English traders, and even preachers (sorry am I to observe it), their sentiments, manners, and practices are very different. The

alteration is manifestly for the worse; they have become more degenerate, and added to the turbulence of passions unsubdued by reason the vices of lying and swearing, which unfortunately they have learned from us.

The testimony of Mr. Sargeant, a gentleman of New England, supports this assertion; who relates, that in a journey to the Shawanese Indians (the allies and dependants of the Six Nations), and some other tribes, when he offered to instruct them in the Christian religion, they rejected it with disdain; they even reproached Christianity, told him the traders would lie, cheat, and debauch their young women, and even their wives, when the husbands were from home. They further added, that the Senekas had given them their country, but charged them never to receive Christianity from the English.

I shall subjoin one more proof to this. Governor Hunter, by order of Queen Anne, presented the Indians with cloaths, and other things of which they were extremely fond; and addressing them at a council, which was held at Albany, told them that their good mother the Queen had not only generously provided them with fine cloaths for their bodies, but likewise intended to adorn their souls by the preaching of the Gospel, and that some ministers should be sent to instruct them. When the governor had finished his speech, the oldest chief rose up and said, that, in the name of all the Indians, he thanked their good mother the Queen for the fine cloaths she had sent them; but that in regard to the ministers, they had already some of them, who, instead of preaching the Gospel to them, taught them to drink to excess, to cheat and quarrel among themselves, and entreated the go-

vernor to take from them the preachers, and a number of Europeans who came among them; for before their arrival, the Indians were honest, sober and innocent people; but now most of them were rogues; that they formerly had the fear of God: but that now they hardly believed his existence.

To extenuate as much as possible this charge against the English, let it be observed, that the vice and immorality complained of, is to be attributed in a great measure to the traders, who used to purchase convicts, and hire men of infamous character to carry up their goods among the Indians, many of whom ran away from their masters to join the Savages: the iniquitous conduct of those people essentially injured the English in the opinion of the Indians, and fixed an odium which will not be soon or easily removed.

Description of the INDIAN *Dances, &c.*

HAVING finished this long digression, I shall continue my history from the time of going to the village of the Connecedagas, where I stayed some months, making several excursions in scouting parties, and frequently bringing in prisoners, which did not escape the notice of Sir Guy Carleton, who at the next interview approved my conduct, and wished me to serve again in his regiment. I told him I was extremely happy I had rendered myself useful to my country, and considered myself highly honoured by so flattering a mark of his approbation; but that the life of a volunteer, though very honourable, would not entitle me to pay, and there was not a vacancy in any of the British regiments: he then appointed me a midshipman on board the ship Fell, commanded by captain Barnsfer, lying in the river St. Laurence, in which service I continued till she was ordered for England.

As soon as I quitted the navy, I returned to the Lake of the Two Mountains, and continued doing my utmost, in the line of an interpreter, and at intervals perfecting myself in the Indian languages, particularly in the Chippeway tongue, as I purposed engaging in the service of a merchant, to go to the north west the first convenient opportunity. I also applied myself sedulously to obtain a complete knowledge of their manners and customs, and with that view partook of their amusements, and was soon noticed as a good dancer. To this

qualification I also added the perfect notes of the different war hoops, as naturally as a Savage; and by conforming to their ways, and taking pleasure in their diversions, I was soon endeared to them, and left them with regret.

The dances among the Indians are many and various, and to each of them there is a particular hoop.

1. The calumet dance.
2. The war dance.
3. The chiefs' dance.
4. The set out dance.
5. The scalp dance.
6. The dead dance.
7. The prisoner's dance.
8. The return dance.
9. The spear dance.
10. The marriage dance.
11. The sacrifice dance.

All these I was perfect master of, frequently leading the sett. If accidentally a stranger came among us, (unless I chose to be noticed) no one could distinguish me from the Indians.

Presuming on my appearing exactly like a Savage, I occasionally went down in a canoe to Montreal, and frequently passed the posts as an Indian. Sometimes I would distinguish myself at a charivari, which is a custom that prevails in different parts of Canada, of assembling with old pots, kettles, &c. and beating them at the doors of new married people; but generally, either when the man is older than the woman, or the parties have been twice married: in those cases they beat a charivari, hallooing out very vociferously, until the man is obliged to obtain their silence by pecuniary contribution, or submit to be

abused with the vilest language. Charivari, in French, means a paltry kind of music, which I suppose is the origin of the custom.

Not content with being a proficient in their sports, I learnt to make a canoe, bark a tree for the purpose, and perform the whole business as regular as the natives. I also made makissins, or Indian shoes, of dear skins, drest and smoked to make the leather soft and pliable, and worked with porcupine quills and small beads, to which are sometimes suspended hawk bells. Those made by the Mohawks, at the Grand River near Niagara, are preferred for their superior workmanship and taste, and are sometimes sold so high as four dollars a pair, but in general they may be purchased, without ornaments, for one dollar: they are more pleasant to wear than English shoes: in summer they are cooler to the feet, and in winter, from being made roomy, they will admit a thick sock, to prevent the excessive cold from penetrating. The Indians, in their war dances, sew hawk bells and small pieces of tin on them to make a jingling noise, and at a dance where I was present, these, with the addition of a large horse bell, which I gave the chief who led the dance, made a noise not much unlike a Dutch concert.

The Savages are esteemed very active and nimble footed, but admitting this general opinion to prevail, it is well known the Europeans are more swift in running a small distance: their chief merit, I am of opinion, consists in their being able to continue a long time in one steady pace, which makes them useful in going express through the woods; and as they require little sleep, and can subsist on roots and water, which they take *en volant*, they do not waste much time in re-

freshment. They are also admirable swimmers, and are not afraid of the strongest current. With these qualifications they are certainly a very useful race of men; and as long as the English retain any possessions in Canada, should be considered as the most valuable acquisition; indeed, as indispensibly necessary; and every endeavour should be exerted to retain them in our interest.

With regard to bodily strength, they are excelled by many; and even in hunting, the Virginians equal them in every part of the chace, though all the world allow them the merit of being good marksmen. I remember seeing some Americans shooting at a loon, a bird nearly the size of an English goose. This bird is remarkable for diving, and generally rises some yards from the place where it dips. They fired at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards with a rifle, several times without success: an Indian standing by, laughed at them, and told them they were old women: they desired him to try his skill, which he instantly did: taking his gun, and resting it against a tree, he fired, and shot the loon through the neck. I confess I never saw a better shot in my life, and was highly pleased, as it gratified my pride, in giving the Americans a favourable opinion of the Savages, for whom I always entertained a predilection.

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